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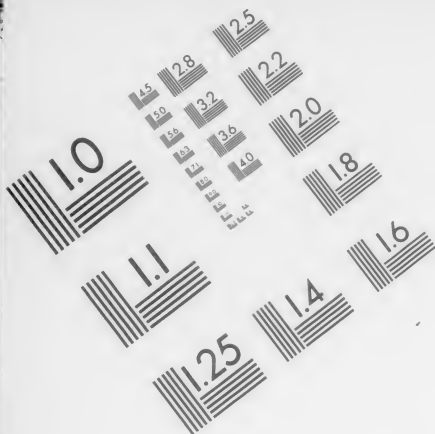
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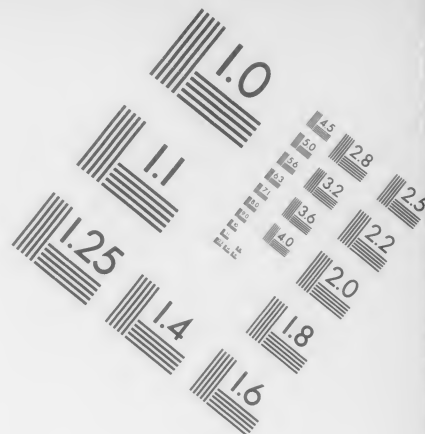
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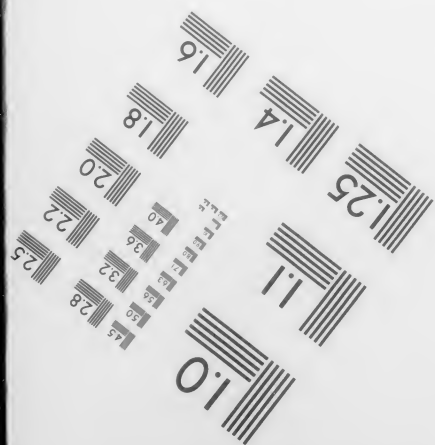
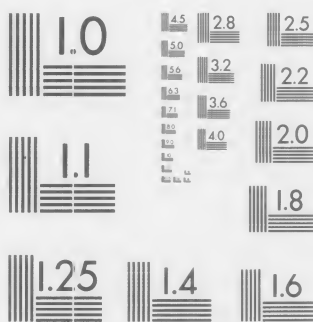
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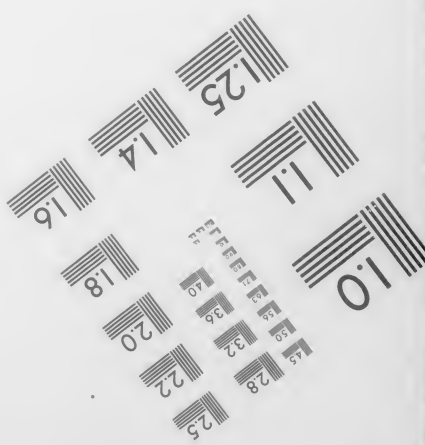
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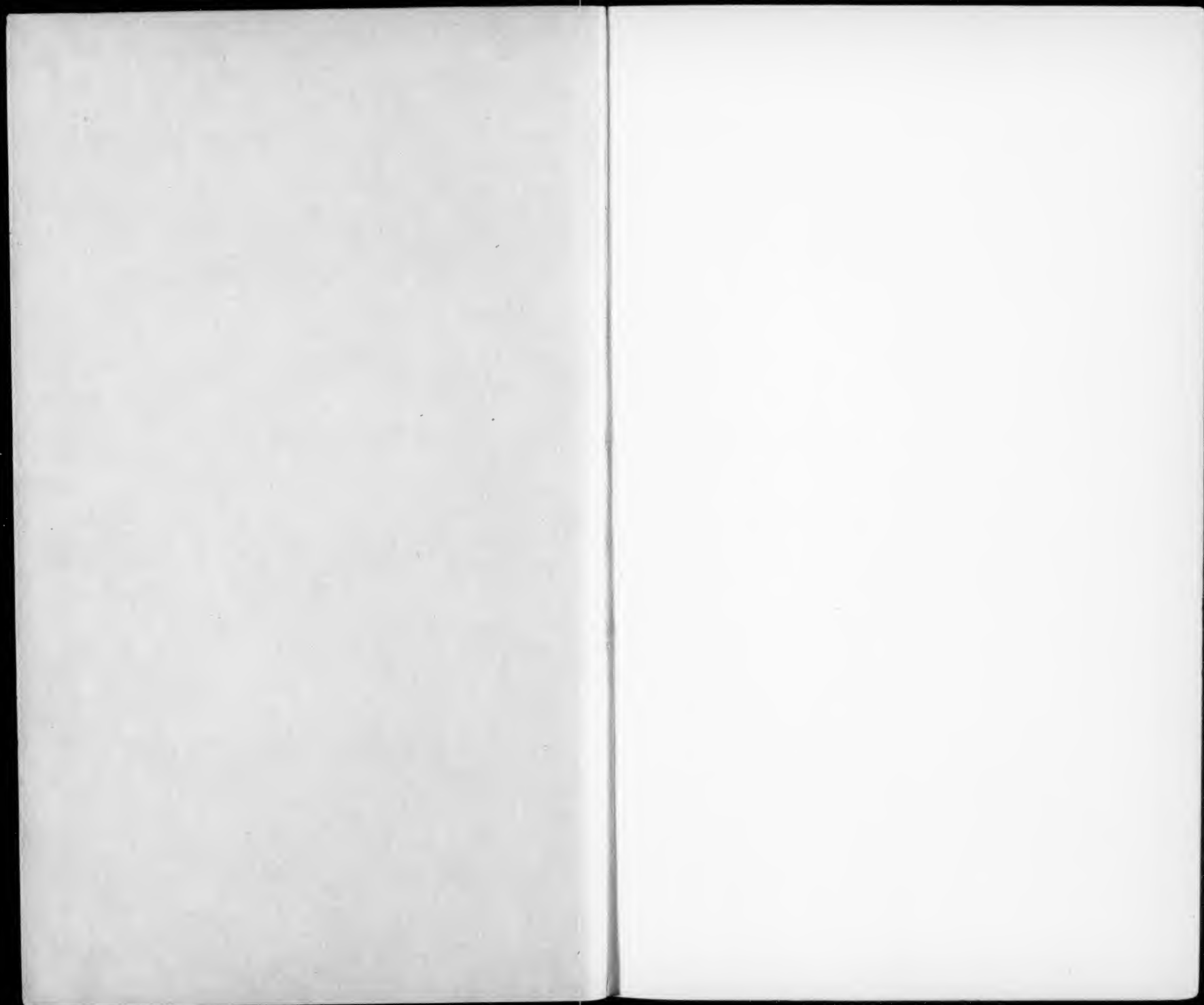
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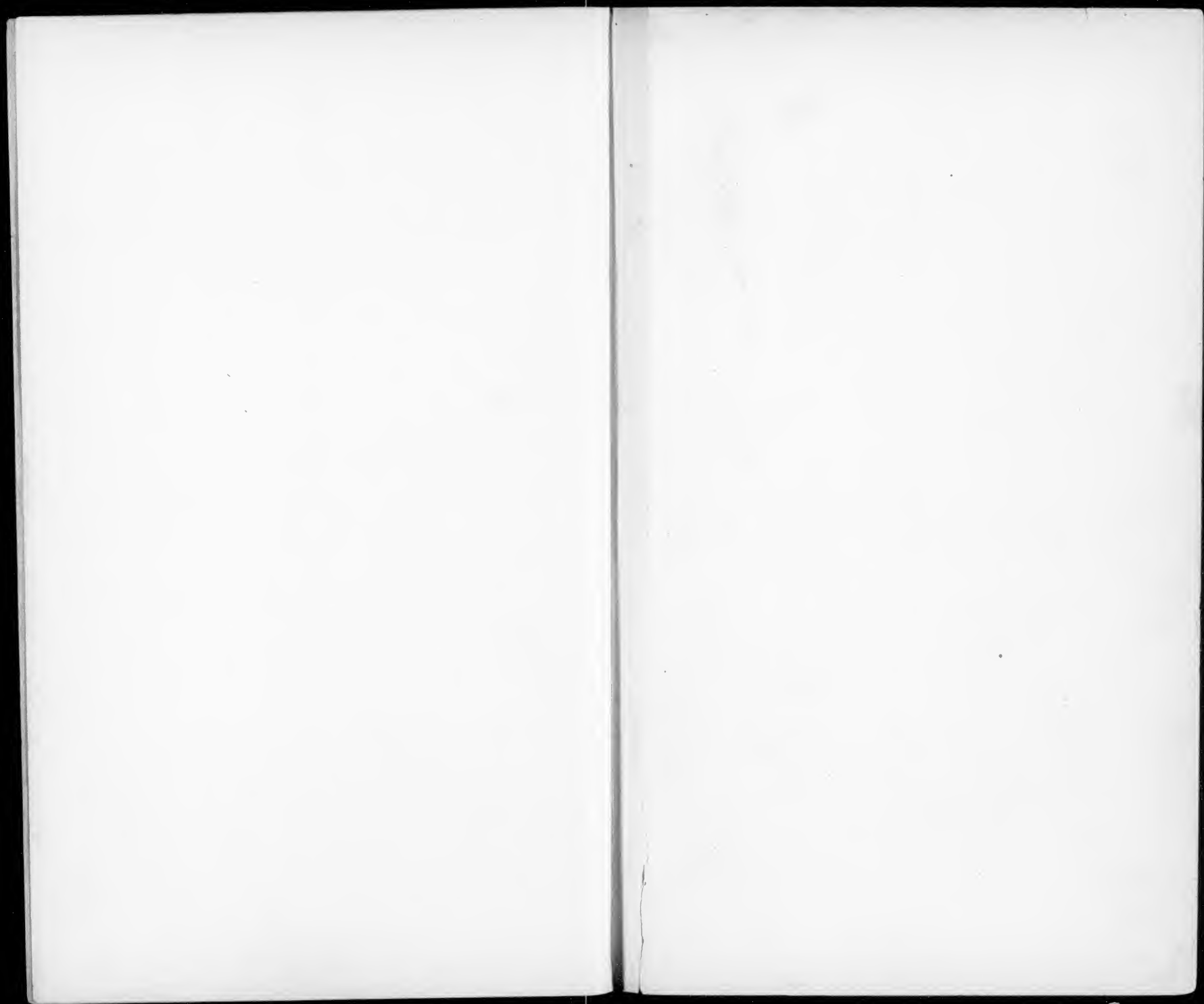
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CHARLES THE GREAT.

A HISTORY OF CHARLES THE GREAT

(CHARLEMAGNE)

BY
John I. Mombert
J. I. MOMBERT, D.D

AUTHOR OF "HANDBOOK OF THE ENGLISH VERSIONS," "GREAT LIVES," "LIFE OF EBEL"
"WILLIAM TYNDALE'S PENTATEUCH," "HISTORY OF LANCASTER COUNTY"
TRANSLATOR OF "THOLUCK ON THE PSALMS," "THE CATHOLIC
EPISTLES" IN "LANGE'S COMMENTARY," ETC., ETC

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PREFACE.

THE brief title of this work is sufficiently explicit to mark its character and aim. It is a History of the illustrious Charles, justly surnamed "the Great," whom his contemporaries called by his German name *Karl*, or the Latin appellative *Carolus*. The English equivalent of these names, accepted by the best writers, is "Charles." For this reason the French and misleading compound *Charlemagne*, of much later origin, has been discarded.

In this connection, I may add that proper names, which in the authorities occur in bewildering variety, have been treated on the principle that, this work being designed for readers of English speech, *current* English forms should be generally preferred to those less familiar to English lips and eyes. It appeared to me whimsical and pedantic to write *Donau*, *Maas*, *Wilsen*, *Aachen*, *Hludowicus*, *Adalgiso*, and *Pippin*, etc., instead of Danube, Meuse, Welatabians, Aix-la-Chapelle, Louis, Adelchis and Pepin, etc. In *un-current* names, the forms attested by the highest authority have been chosen.

This work has been long in preparation, and for the most part is drawn up from contemporary authorities, such as Annals, Chronicles, Biographies, Letters, Laws, Diplomas, Poems, Epitaphs, etc. The most important of these, accompanied by brief notes chiefly bearing on their critical value, are enumerated in the Appendix.

The material is very copious, and its collection and study have entailed much expenditure in time, labor, and money. It would have been easier to present the subject in three volumes than confine it to the limits of only one volume.

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But regard for the patience of the reader and prudential reasons dictated the necessity of adopting the shorter form.

I have not followed the strictly chronological order of events, but grouped under appropriate heads the most important transactions of the long reign of Charles, trusting that by this plan prolixity has been avoided, and the interest of the narrative kept up, so that, without sacrificing accuracy, a clearer and more philosophical view of the whole period, and its grand central figure, might be gained. The Chronological Annals, however, which precede the narrative, spread the precise sequence of events before the reader.

By far the greater portion of the matter presented appears for the first time in English, and much of it I have not seen in any living tongue. The bulk of this volume is history, although legend, tradition, anecdote, and poetry have been introduced sparingly as serving to throw life, variety, and color into the picture.

It has been my aim faithfully to trace the growth and establishment of the peerless empire of the mighty Ruler, whose fierce religious zeal stamped out heathenism, awed the miscreant, enriched and exalted the Church; whose great achievements exacted the homage of the world, and whose enlightened liberality inaugurated a new era of civilization, which after the lapse of a millennium may still be discerned in living institutions. That empire has long been the ideal of ambitious sovereigns, and the dream of its revival has not yet lost its fascination.

This work is not written for a particular class of readers, but offered to the public generally as a modest contribution to the literature of one of the most important and interesting periods in History.

NEW YORK,
July, 1888.

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NOTE ON THE PORTRAIT OF CHARLES.

The portrait, printed by Montfaucon in *Monumens de la Monarchie Française*, tome I., plate xxiii., page 276, is taken from a MS. drawing in the MSS. of M. de Peiresc, and believed to be authentic. At any rate it is less conventional, and as to expression and naturalness more satisfactory than any of the numerous representations of Charles in print, or in stone, which I have seen.

It represents him wearing the imperial crown, in the posture of kneeling, and holding on his arm the basilica of St. Mary the Virgin at Aix-la-Chapelle (see p. 271 sqq. and Index). The lower portions of the body are entirely hidden by an ample cloak, remarkable for the width of the sleeves, the imperial collar, and especially the buttons, which though seldom found in pictures of that period, were nevertheless in use as early as the time of the Emperor Constantius.

CHRONOLOGICAL ANNALS.

CHRONOLOGICAL ANNALS.

CHARLES MARTEL,

SON OF PEPIN OF HERISTAL AND ALPAIS (= CHALPAIS, ALPHAIS).

| A.D. | |
|----------|--|
| 688, 689 | Conjectured date of his birth. |
| 715 | Plectrud with her grandsons in power.—Ragenfrid, mayor of the palace, in Neustria. Charles escapes from confinement.—Death of Dagobert III.—Chilperic II. rules Neustria. |
| 716 | Ratbod, the Frisian, defeats Charles. Charles surprises and defeats the Neustrians at Amblève. |
| 717 | Defeats the Neustrians in the decisive engagement at Vincy. Pursues the fugitives to Paris. Brings Plectrud to terms at Cologne.—Appoints Chlotair king. |
| 718 (?) | Devastates Saxony to the Weser. |
| 719 | Defeats Chilperic, Ragenfrid, and their ally, Eudo, duke of Aquitaine, at Soissons.—Pursues Eudo, who escapes. |
| 720 | Makes peace with Eudo. Expedition against the Saxons.—Theodoric IV. (aged 7), son of Dagobert III., king. |
| 722 | Wars in the North. (The enemy not named.) |
| 723 | Imprisons two sons of his step-brother Drogo.—Accords protection to Boniface. |
| 724 | Marches against Ragenfrid, and invests Angers. Gains a victory over the rebellious Saxons. |
| 725 | Invades and subdues Bavaria, returns with Bilitrud and Swanahild. |
| 728 | Revisits Bavaria, with an army. |
| 730 | Marches against Lantfrid, duke of Alemannia.—Death of Lantfrid. |
| 731 | Marches against Eudo, and devastates Vasconia. |
| 732 | Defeats the Saracens in the battle of Tours. |
| 733 | Regulates the affairs of Burgundy. Invades the Westergau in Frisia. |
| 734 | Again invades the Westergau, and devastates the country. |
| 735 | Death of Eudo.—Charles marches to the Garonne, and subdues the country. |
| 736 | Defeats the sons of Eudo, takes Hatto prisoner, and receives the homage of Hunold. |

CHARLES MARTEL—*Continued.*

| A.D. | |
|------|--|
| 736 | Enters Burgundy and subdues the country from Lyons to Marseilles, and Arles. |
| 737 | Death of Theodoric IV.—Charles reigns "without another king." Marches against the Saracens, defeats them on the Berre, and lays siege to Narbonne. |
| 738 | Marches against the Saxons, makes them tributary, and takes hostages. |
| 739 | Quells the rebellion in the Provence. Receives an embassy from Pope Gregory III. |
| 740 | A year of peace. |
| 741 | Divides his dominions among his sons. Death of Charles, October 22d.—Buried in the Church of St. Denis. |

CARLOMAN,

ELDEST SON OF CHARLES MARTEL.

| | |
|-----|---|
| | Date of his birth not known. |
| 741 | Receives as his share of the divided kingdom, Austrasia, Suabia, and Thuringia. Marches conjointly with Pepin against their step-brother Grifo.—Grifo prisoner at Neufchâteau. |
| 742 | Marches conjointly with Pepin into Aquitaine, against the rebels. |
| 743 | Marches conjointly with Pepin into Alemannia, against the rebels. Childeric III. instituted king. |
| | Marches conjointly with Pepin against Odilo, duke of Bavaria, their brother-in-law. |
| 744 | Marches against the Saxons; surrender of Hoohseoburg, and Theodoric. Makes peace with Odilo. Expedition against the Saxons; submission of the frontier population; many Saxons baptized. |
| 745 | Marches with Pepin into Aquitaine; they subdue the rebellion, and humble Hunold. |
| 746 | Sanguinary punishment of the rebellious Alemannians. |
| 747 | Abdicates together with his son Drogo in favor of Pepin; goes to Rome, receives tonsure, builds a monastery, and withdraws to Monte Soracte. |
| 750 | Takes up his abode in Monte Casino. |
| 754 | Goes to Francia in the interest of Astolf against the pope, and Frankish interference. Pepin shuts him up in a monastery; probably at Vienne. Death of Carloman, August 17th.—Buried on Monte Casino. |

PEPIN,

SECOND SON OF CHARLES MARTEL, MAYOR OF THE PALACE.

| A.D. | |
|------|--|
| 714 | Birth. |
| 735 | Visits the court of Desiderius, who adopts him. |
| 741 | Receives as his share of the divided kingdom, Burgundy, Neustria, and the Provence. For the events of 741-745, see above, under "Carloman." |
| 745 | Marches against Theudbald, son of Duke Godfred, into Alsatia. |
| 747 | Takes charge of the kingdom and son of Carloman; see before.—Carloman had several sons. Sets Grifo at liberty. |
| 748 | Grifo escapes into Saxony. |
| 749 | Expedition against the Saxons; they submit; Grifo escapes into Bavaria. Successful expedition against Grifo; Grifo and Lantfrid, duke of Alemannia, taken prisoners. Accords to Grifo twelve counties in Neustria; Grifo escapes into Aquitaine. |

PEPIN,

SECOND SON OF CHARLES MARTEL, KING.

| | |
|-----|--|
| 751 | Elected, and, with the approbation of the pope, elevated and anointed king, by Boniface, at Soissons. Childeric is shaved and sent to St. Sithiu. |
| 753 | Victorious expedition against the Saxons.—Iburg.—Advance to the Wesel. Grifo slain in combat. |
| 754 | January 6. Receives Pope Stephen III., and promises him help against the Lombards. The Diet, at Braisne (<i>Brennacus</i>), and then at Quierzy (<i>Carisiaco</i>) resolves upon war with the Lombards. Pepin, together with Charles and Carloman his sons, guarantees to the Church of Rome the restoration of the possessions wrested from the same by the Lombards.—The document is lost. Stephen III., at St. Denis, anoints Pepin, and his sons. July 28th. First expedition against the Lombards. Pepin invades Italy; his van defeats the Lombards in the valley of Susa; he pursues Astolf to Pavia, invests the city, dictates a peace, takes hostages, and returns into Francia. |
| 755 | The old March-field is changed into a May-field, <i>i. e.</i> , the Annual Assembly is thereafter to meet in May. Death of Boniface. |
| 756 | Second expedition against the Lombards. Pepin defeats them at the <i>clause</i> , again invests Pavia, and makes a peace humiliating to Astolf. |

PEPIN—*Continued.*

| A.D. | |
|------|---|
| 756 | Donation to St. Peter and the Roman Church of the cities of Ravenna, Rimini, Pesara, etc., etc., restored by Astolf.—The instrument of donation is lost. |
| 757 | Death of Astolf.—Desiderius, king of the Lombards. Tassilo takes the oath of allegiance at Compiègne. |
| 758 | Victorious expedition against the Saxons. |
| 759 | A year of peace.—Birth of Pepin (he died in his third year). |
| 760 | Victorious expedition into Aquitaine. Waifre sues for peace. |
| 761 | Pepin, accompanied by Charles, marches into Aquitaine and quells the revolt, with partial success. |
| 762 | New campaign in Aquitaine; Charles and Carloman accompany their father; with partial success. |
| 763 | Further campaign in Aquitaine.—Tassilo leaves the army on the march.—Pepin defeats Waifre.—Escape of Waifre. |
| 764 | War with Waifre and Tassilo prevented by negotiations. |
| 765 | A year of peace. |
| 766 | Expedition into Aquitaine. |
| 767 | Synod of Gentilly on the Holy Trinity, and Image Worship. Expedition into Aquitaine. |
| 768 | Expedition into Aquitaine. The mother, sister and niece of Waifre, together with his uncle Remistan, are taken prisoners. Remistan is hanged; Waifre assassinated, by his own subjects. Sept. 23d. Divides the kingdom between Charles and Carloman; see under "Carloman, King" and "Charles the Great." Sickness and death, September 24th, of Pepin.—Buried in the church of St. Denis. |

CARLOMAN,

SECOND SON OF PEPIN, KING.

| | |
|---------|--|
| 751 (?) | <i>Date of his birth.</i> |
| 754 | Is anointed by Stephen III., in St. Denis, July 28th. |
| 768 | Receives as his kingdom Burgundy, the Provence, Alsatia, Alemannia, and the half of Aquitaine, Sept. 23d. Elevated and anointed king at Soissons, October 9th. |
| 769 | Meeting and disagreement with Charles at Duasdives. |
| 770 | Meets his mother at Selz. |
| 771 | Breaks with Charles. Danger of war. Death, December 4th.—Buried in the church of St. Remigius, near Rheims. |

CHARLES THE GREAT.

| A.D. | |
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| 742 | Date of his birth, April 2d. |
| 753 | Escorts Pope Stephen III. |
| 754 | Is anointed by Stephen III., in St. Denis, July 28th. |
| 761 | Accompanies the expedition into Aquitaine. |
| 762 | Accompanies the expedition into Aquitaine. |
| 768 | Receives as his kingdom Austrasia, the half of Aquitaine, and Neustria. Elevated, and, according to some, anointed king at Noyon, October 9th. |
| 769 | Expedition into Aquitaine.—Meeting with Carloman at Duasdives. Builds Fronsac on the Dordogne.—Lupus surrenders Hunold and his wife. |
| 770 | Disowns Himiltrud, and marries Desiderata. |
| 771 | Breaks with Carloman. Upon the death of Carloman, Charles seizes his kingdom.—Gerberga, with the children of Carloman, escapes to Desiderius. Disowns Desiderata, and marries Hildegard. |
| 772 | First Saxon expedition.—Eresburg, Irminsul. |
| 773 | Receives the legate of Hadrian I., invoking his aid against the Lombards. Diet at Geneva. Invades Lombardy. Siege of Pavia and Verona. |
| 774 | Visit to Rome. Promises to donate to St. Peter certain territories.—The instrument of donation is lost. April 6th. Fall of Pavia, and of the Lombards, June. Consecration of the church at Lauresham; present, the king, the queen and their sons, Charles and Pepin, August 14th. Despatch of four <i>scare</i> against the Saxons. |
| 775 | Determines to prosecute war with the Saxons until they are converted to Christianity or exterminated.—Diet at Quierzy, January.—Diet at Düren, June and July. Saxon expedition.—Hohensyburg, Eresburg, Brunisberg.—Defeat of the Eastphalians.—Treachery.—Defeat of the Westphalians. August to October. |
| 776 | Winter campaign in Friuli. The revolt is quelled. January to July. Saxon expedition. Subjection of the Saxons; many are baptized. |
| 777 | Diet at Paderborn. Wittekind absent. Numerous baptisms. Saracen embassy. |
| 778 | Invasion of Spain. Advance to the Ebro. Ambuscade at Roncesvalles. Birth of Louis and Lothair.—Chasseneuil. Raid by the Saxons. Pursuit of the raiders. |
| 779 | Hildebrand, Duke of Spoleto, brings presents. |

CHARLES THE GREAT—*Continued.*

| A.D. | |
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| 779 | Saxon expedition. Victory at Bocholt. Submission of Westphalian and Transalbingian Saxons. |
| 780 | Saxon expedition. General submission. Saxons in the Bardengau and Northalbingia receive baptism. Visit to Italy. |
| 781 | Meeting with Alcuin at Parma, March. Rome.—Hadrian baptizes Pepin (= Carloman) and Louis, and anoints them Kings of Italy and Aquitaine. Easter. Thomas, Archbishop of Milan, baptizes Gisla. June. Tassilo swears fealty in the Diet of Worms. |
| 782 | Diet at the head-waters of the Lippe.—Wittekind absent. <i>Capitulatio de partibus Saxonia.</i> |
| 782 | Slavonians invade the frontiers of Thuringia and Saxony; Adalgis, Geilo and Worad march against them. Disaster of the Süntel.—Expedition. Butchery at Verden on the Aller. |
| 783 | Death of Hildegard, April 30th; buried in St. Arnulf's at Metz. Death of the queen-mother Bertrada, July 13th; buried in St. Denis. Saxon expedition; victorious engagements at Detmold, and on the Hase. Devastation of the country to the Elbe. Charles marries Fastrada, before October 9th. |
| 784 | Saxon expedition, early in the spring; the king marches against the Eastphalians; his son Charles against the Westphalians; cavalry fight in the Dreingau; Charles the younger defeats the enemy. Winter campaign in Saxony.—Raids. |
| 785 | Diet at Paderborn. Louis is brought from Aquitaine. Destructive warfare; the Saxons receive Christianity. Negotiations with Wittekind and Abbio. Wittekind and his following are baptized at Attigny. Surrender of Gerona. |
| 786 | Seneschal Audulf chastises the rebels in Brittany. |
| 786 | Conspiracy of Thuringian counts and nobles. Expedition into Italy; late in the year. |
| 787 | Visit to Rome. Demonstration against Benevento. Arigiso, Rumoald, and the Beneventans take the oath of allegiance, and pay tribute. Grimoald, the king's son, one of the hostages. Failure of the matrimonial alliance of princess Rotrud and emperor Constantine Porphyrogenitus. Embassies from and to Tassilo. Invasion of Bavaria. Tassilo submits, and accepts the duchy as a fief. |

CHARLES THE GREAT—*Continued.*

| A.D. | |
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| 787 | Embassy from Benevento. Despatch of Missi. Death of Rumoald and Arigiso. |
| 788 | Trial and deposition of Tassilo. Annexation of Bavaria. Grimoald, duke of Benevento. Successful fights with the Avars on the Ips, the Danube, and in Friuli. Duke Hildebrand, duke Grimoald and Winegisus defeat the Byzantines in Calabria. |
| 789 | Expedition against the Welatabians; their submission. Differences between Charles and Offa. |
| 790 | Diet of Worms. Punishment of Adalric. Embassy from and to the Avars. |
| 791 | First expedition against the Avars. |
| 792 | <i>Adoptianism.</i> Felix recants. Synod of Ratisbon. Revolt in Saxony and Frisia. Conspiracy of Pepin the Hunchback. War with Benevento.—The great famine. |
| 793 | Failure of the canal connecting the Altmühl and the Rednitz. Invasion and victory of the Saracens on the Orbieu. |
| 794 | Synod and Diet at Frankfurt. <i>Adoptianism.</i> —The Council denies the <i>acumenical</i> character of the second Council of Nicæa and rejects its decree concerning <i>image worship</i> .—Tassilo apologizes, and renounces all claim to Bavaria. Death of Fastrada, August 10th. Buried in St. Alban's, Mayence. Saxon expedition.—Sendfeld. Charles marries Liutgard. Regulation of Aquitanian affairs. |
| 795 | Saxon expedition. The camp at Lüne (<i>Hliuni</i>). Embassy from the Tudun. Eric, margrave of Friuli, plunders the "Ring" of the Avars, and carries the spoils to Aix-la-Chapelle (796). Louis receives embassies from Alonso II., and the Saracenic wali, Bahlul Ben Makhluk, and erects fortresses on the frontiers of Aquitaine. |
| | Death of Hadrian III., Dec. 25th; Leo III. elected pope, Dec. 26th. |
| 796 | Distribution of the Avar treasures. Embassies from and to Leo. Baptism of the Tudun of the Avars, at Aix-la-Chapelle. Saxon expedition. Louis marries Hermingard, daughter of Count Ingram (?). Pepin's expedition against the Avars. Frankish raid against the Saracens. |
| 797 | The wali of Barcelona (Zeik) makes his submission. |

CHARLES THE GREAT—*Continued.*

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| A.D. | |
| 797 | Futile investment of Huesca. Pepin takes the field against Slavonians, Eric against the Avars. Charles leads an expedition against the Saxons into Wigmodia. The Ommaiad Saracen Abdallah commends himself to Charles at Aix-la-Chapelle. Charles sends Lantfrid and Sigimund as his ambassadors to Harun-al-Raschid. <i>Capitulare Saxonicum.</i> Winter campaign in Saxony. Camp at Heristelle. November. Embassy from the Avars. Louis (with Abdallah) and Pepin return to their kingdoms. 798 Embassy from Alonso II. Revolt of the Nordliudi, or Saxons beyond the Elbe. Murder of <i>missi</i> . General devastation. Thrasco attacks and defeats the Northalbingians at Zwentinefeld. Charles carries 1,600 Saxon nobles as hostages into Francia. An embassy from the empress Irene announces her accession to the throne. Embassy from Alonso II. Piratical descent by the Saracens on the Balearic Islands. Theodulf, bishop of Orleans, and Laidradus, <i>missi</i> to Septimania and the Provence. 799 Felix, bishop of Urgel, disputes with Alcuin, and recants. Conspiracy against Leo III. He escapes. Saxon expedition. Camp at Paderborn. Charles the younger in the Bardengau. Leo III. visits Charles. His restoration. Embassies from Michael, patrician of Sicily, and the empress Irene. Death of Gerold, chief count in Bavaria, in battle, and of duke Eric in an ambushade. Deportation of many Saxons. The Balearic Islands make their submission to Francia. Count Wido quells a revolt in Brittany. The wali of Huesca sends the keys of the city to Charles. The patriarch of Jerusalem sends a benediction and relics from the Holy Sepulchre. 800 Norman piracies. Building of a fleet, and of coast defences. Charles visits the coast, St. Riquier, Rouen, Tours, etc. Death of Queen Liutgard at Tours, June 4th. Buried there. Diet at Mayence, August. Journey to Italy, with an army. Departure, before November. King Pepin conducts the army to Benevento, having left his father at Ancona. |

CHARLES THE GREAT—*Continued.*

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| A.D. | |
| 800 | Reception of Charles at Rome, November 24th. Trial of Leo III., December 1st. Leo exculpates himself, December 23d. The patriarch of Jerusalem sends symbolical gifts, December 23d. Charles crowned Emperor; Charles the younger anointed and crowned King, December 25th. Condemnation of the conspirators against Leo. 801 Regulation of Roman and Italian affairs. Pepin returns to Benevento, before January 6th. Capture of Chieti. A destructive earthquake in Italy; it is felt on the Rhine, in Gaul, and Germany, April 30th. Arrival of ambassadors from Harun-al-Raschid at Pisa, and their reception between Vercelli and Ivrea. Return into Francia, July. Siege and capture of Barcelona, date uncertain. 802 Administrative reforms. Formulas of the new oath of allegiance. Embassies from and to the empress Irene. Synod at Aix-la-Chapelle, March. Isaac, the Jew, brings the presents from Harun-al-Raschid, among them the elephant Abulabbas. Despatch of an expedition against the Saxons beyond the Elbe. Hostilities in Benevento. Indecisive and fluctuating fortunes. General Synod and Diet at Aix-la-Chapelle, October. The conciliar canons and pontifical decrees are read and explained to the clergy. The rule of St. Benedict is read and explained to abbots and monks. All the national laws current in Francia are read, explained, and amended in the secular division of the Diet, and ordered to be committed to writing. 803 Grimoald, duke of Benevento, releases Winigisus, duke of Spoleto. Earthquake at and near Aix-la-Chapelle. Great mortality. <i>Missi</i> sent out for securing the popular ratification of the additions to the national codes lately set forth. The emperor, after the Diet at Mayence, repairs to Salz on the Saale in Franconia. Arrival of the Frankish ambassadors to Constantinople, accompanied by those of Nicephorus, the new emperor of the East. Arrival of two ambassadors from George, patriarch of Jerusalem. Arrival of Fortunatus, patriarch of Grado. Expedition into Pannonia. Local Diet at Ratisbon. Submission of the Tudun, together with many other Avars and Slavonians. |

CHARLES THE GREAT—*Continued.*

| A.D. | |
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| 804 | Saxon expedition for the final subjection of the country. Diet at the headwaters of the Lippe. Camp at Hollenstedt. Charles appoints Thrasco king of the Abodrites. The Franks and the Abodrites expel the Saxons. Wholesale deportation. End of the Saxon war. Proposed interview of Gottfried, king of the Danes, and Charles. Alleged discovery of the blood of Christ at Mantua. Pope Leo III. visits Charles. |
| 805 | Return of the pope, January 14th. The Avars are permitted to settle between Sabaria and Carnuntum. Death of the khakhan Theodore; baptism of the new khakhan Abraham. King Charles invades Bohemia. Remarkable instructions for the <i>missi</i> .—Military regulations, and directions relating to frontier trade and the exportation of arms. Celebration of Christmas at Thionville; arrival of Louis and Pepin. Obelierius and Beatus, doges of Venetia, together with dignitaries from Dalmatia, make their submission. |
| 806 | Partition of the empire. Expedition, commanded by King Charles, against the Sorabians. Expedition into Bohemia. Arrival of a Byzantine fleet in the Adriatic. Blockade of Venetia. A Frankish vessel runs the blockade. An Italian fleet drives Saracen pirates from Corsica. Saracen pirates capture the monks of Patelaria. Submission of Navarra and Pampeluna. Death of Grimoald III., duke of Benevento. Accession of Grimoald <i>Storesais</i> . |
| 807 | Arrival of embassies from Harun-al-Raschid, and the patriarch of Jerusalem. Alfdeni, a Danish chieftain, makes his submission. A Frankish fleet, commanded by constable Burchard, defeats the Saracen pirates. King Pepin makes a truce with the Byzantine admiral Nicetas. |
| 808 | Eardulf, the fugitive king of Northumbria, visits Charles and the pope. Gottfried, king of the Danes, invades the country of the Abodrites. Expedition, by King Charles, against the Linonians and Smeldings. Erection of fortresses on the Eider, and on the Elbe. Strained relations of Pepin and the pope. |
| 809 | Restoration of Eardulf. The Greek <i>Orobiotae</i> (mountaineers) plunder Populonia, a seaport of Tuscia. |

CHARLES THE GREAT—*Continued.*

| A.D. | |
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| 809 | Repulse of the Byzantine fleet at Comacchio; admiral Paulus sails to Constantinople. Saracenic descent upon Corsica, April 7th. Expedition, by Louis, against the Saracens. Ineffectual siege of Tortosa. Meeting of Frankish and Danish commissioners at Badenfiot. Expedition, by Thrasco, king of the Abodrites, against the Welandians and Smeldings. Council at Aix-la-Chapelle, in November, on the Procession of the Holy Spirit. The <i>Filioque</i> . Assassination of Thrasco. Erection of a fortress at Esesfeld (Itzehoe). |
| 810 | Amoroz, wali of Saragossa and Huesca, seizes the command of the late count Aureolus. Saracen pirates plunder Corsica. Expedition, by King Pepin, against Venetia. Death of Princess Rotrud, June 6th. Descent of a Danish fleet on the coast of Frisia. Orders for the building of vessels for the protection of rivers and the coast. The emperor, accompanied by King Charles, conducts an army into Saxony. Camp at Verden on the Aller. Assassination of Gottfried. Capture, by the Welandians, of the fortress of Hohbuoki. Death of King Pepin, July 8th. Arrival of embassies from the courts of Constantinople and Cordova. Accident of the emperor. The epizooty.—Mortal powder.—General prayers. Negotiations for peace with Constantinople, Cordova, and Denmark. Raid into Spain, by the <i>missus</i> Ingobert; second ineffectual siege of Tortosa. Administration of Italy by <i>missi</i> . |
| 811 | Testamentary distribution of the imperial treasure. Embassy to Constantinople. Deposition of the doges. Ratification of peace with Denmark. Despatch of armies against the Linonians and Bretons, and into Pannonia. The emperor inspects the fleets building at Boulogne and Ghent. Siege and surrender of Tortosa. Death of Pepin the Hunchback, at Prüm. Death of King Charles, December 4th. |
| 812 | Death of Hemming, king of the Danes. Struggle for the succession. Harald and Reginfrid kings. |

CHARLES THE GREAT—*Continued.*

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| A.D. | |
| 812 | <p>Arrival of Byzantine ambassadors from Emperor Michael I., Rhagabé.</p> <p>Frankish ratification of the peace at St. Mary's, Aix-la-Chapelle.</p> <p>Charles sends Bernhard, son of Pepin, to Italy.</p> <p>Saracen piracies in the Mediterranean.</p> <p>Peace (armistice) with El-Hhakem. Failure of the siege of Huesca.</p> <p>Peace with Benevento.</p> <p>Subjection of the Welatabians.</p> |
| 813 | <p>Despatch of an embassy to Constantinople. Leo V., emperor.</p> <p>Diet at Aix-la-Chapelle (?), early in the year.</p> <p>Provincial Synods at Mayence, Rheims, Tours, Chalon, and Arles.</p> <p>Burning of the Rhine-bridge at Mayence.</p> <p>Louis quells the revolt of the Vasconians, and crosses the Pyrenees.</p> <p>Attempted ambuscade.</p> <p>Charles is taken sick in the Ardennes; he sends for Louis.</p> <p>General Diet at Aix-la-Chapelle. Important legislation.</p> <p>Designation, acclamation, and coronation of Louis as associate-emperor.</p> <p>Ratification of peace with Denmark. Revolution in Denmark.</p> <p>Norman and Saracen piracies.</p> |
| 814 | <p>Charles has an attack of fever, January 22d; pleurisy sets in.</p> <p>Receives the sacrament, January 27th.</p> <p>Death, at 9 A. M., January 28th.</p> <p>Buried, the same day, in the basilica of St. Mary at Aix-la-Chapelle.</p> |

BOOK I.

ANCESTRAL PERIOD,

A.D., 680—A.D., 768.

BOOK I.

ANCESTRAL PERIOD, A.D., 680—A.D., 768.

CHAPTER I.

CHARLES MARTEL.

Introductory remarks.—Pepin of Heristal's mistake.—Charles obtains the mastery of Austrasia, Neustria, and Burgundy.—Aggressive warfare.—He aids Eudo, duke of Aquitaine, against the Saracens.—The deadly battle of Tours.—Reduction of Aquitaine, and suppression of revolt in Burgundy.—Renewed and successful contests with the Saracens.—Charles chastises in the same summer, the Saxons, Provençals, and Saracens.—His relations to the Church.—Division of his dominions.—His death.

THE three grandest names of Carlovingian lineage are so closely connected, and so nearly contemporary, that the history of one of their number necessarily involves that of the others. For this reason a sketch of the memorable career of the first Charles, surnamed "the Hammer," may not be an inappropriate introduction to the life of his grandson, and namesake, called "the Great."¹

Pepin of Heristal,² the father of Charles Martel, and conqueror of Testry, presided, for a period of twenty-seven

¹ The surnames "Tudites" and "Martellus" arose in the second half of the ninth century, nearly a century after his death. The first soon fell into disuse, but the latter is almost universal.

² The descent of Pepin of Heristal.—Arnulf, bishop of Metz, died Aug. 6, 641, and left two sons: Chlodulf, bishop of Metz, and Ansigisil (or Adalgisel, Anchisus), reputed to have

been mayor of the palace in Austrasia. He married Begga, daughter of Pepin the Old (or "of Landen"), also a mayor of the palace, and was the father of Pepin of Heristal, the date of whose birth is not known. See "Genealogical Table," for all matters relating to lineage; the "Chronological Annals" for dates; and the "Index" for geographical details.

years, with singular ability and energy over the affairs of the Frankish dominions in the capacities of duke of Austrasia, and mayor of the palace of Neustria. By his authority not less than four puppet-kings maintained a phantom royalty in Neustria and Burgundy. So abject was their estate that the annals of the period record events in such significant phrase as: "In such a year of the sovereignty of Pepin over Theoderic," and designate his reign as that of "Pepin with the kings subject to his rule."¹

His was unquestionably the master intellect of his age, which held in check the fierce nations encroaching upon Frankish territory in the East and the South, devised and enforced necessary and wholesome legislation, and befriended in powerful protection and liberal donations the Christian missionaries from England, Ireland, and Rome.

Unfortunately he was not free from the polygamy of the Frankish sovereigns and their license of repudiation. He had two wives, Plectrud and Alpais, but, his sons by the former being dead, committed the grand mistake of designating, at the instance of their imperious mother, his grandson Theodoald, only six years of age, his successor in the throne, to the exclusion of Charles and Hildebrand, his sons by Alpais.

At his death Plectrud assumed the government, and imprisoned Charles at Cologne.

A struggle was inevitable. Charles soon succeeded in the recovery of liberty, and aided by Austrasian nobles, who scorned the rule of a woman, attempted to wrest it from her hands.

The situation was complicated. The Neustrians, with their phantom king Dagobert III., revolted from Austrasian rule, and marched against the youthful Theodoald, whom Plectrud, under escort of a strong force, had sent to Neustria. An engagement took place in the forest of Cuise, in which the Austrasians were defeated, while Theodoald barely escaped with his life.

¹ Annal. Metten., Fuld., Lauriss., a. 691.

They then chose Ragenfrid mayor of the palace, and, under his lead, invaded Austrasia and devastated the country to the Meuse.

In the mean time Dagobert died, and they found his successor in the person of the cleric Daniel, whom they elevated to the throne under the name of Chilperic II.

This new king made an alliance with the Frisians, and marched upon Cologne, where Plectrud had established herself, and was glad to purchase the departure of the enemy at a high price. The Neustrians left, but on the march were overtaken and defeated by Charles at Amblève.

717] Fruitless negotiations ensued, and Charles, the year following, at the head of a powerful army, entered Neustria, met and defeated the enemy in the decisive battle of Vincy, south of Cambray. Chilperic and Ragenfrid fled to Paris, while Charles, laden with spoil, retraced his steps to Cologne, and compelled Plectrud not only to open the city, but to surrender the treasure of Pepin, and submit to his authority.

In the lull of war which followed Charles satisfied the clamor of the populace for a king, and presented to them an obscure Merovingian prince of the name of Clothair, as their puppet-king, while he himself ruled the Frankish dominions under the title of duke of Austrasia.

On the other hand, the king of the Neustrians, and his mayor of the palace had not been idle. They opened negotiations and concluded an alliance with Eudo, the rebellious duke of Aquitaine, in virtue of which he joined them with an army at Paris, and enabled them to resume **719]** offensive operations against Charles. The opposing hosts met at Soissons, and in the battle which they fought, the arms of Charles were again victorious. He pursued the flying foe first to Paris, and thence to the Loire, but though he moved by forced marches, such was the speed of the fugitives, that Eudo, with Chilperic and the royal treasure, crossed that river before Charles was able to overtake them.

720] The contest was brought to a close soon afterward.

A peace was concluded in virtue of which Eudo surrendered the person and treasure of Chilperic, and Charles, taking advantage of the opportune death of his shadow king Clothair, set up Chilperic in his stead, and treated him honorably to his dying day. This happened in the same year, and necessitated the appointment of a new king. Charles discovered another Merovingian scion in the abbey of Chelles, summoned him forth, and launched him upon his career of royal indolence under the name of Theoderic, or Thierry IV.

Thus established in the undisputed rule of Austrasia, Neustria, and Burgundy, Charles felt at liberty to undertake a series of expeditions against the Frisians and Saxons, which though sometimes aggressive and attended by temporary success, appear to have resulted only in bloodshed, widespread desolation, and invincible antipathy. In one instance we read of a stinging defeat which he inflicted upon a most savage Saxon tribe, and not only made it tributary but took hostages;¹ on another occasion he overran Frisia with war and punished the rebels with indiscriminate devastation and extermination.² The causes of the revolt seem to be unknown.

Military expeditions against the Suabians and Bavarians also were aggressive and led to territorial acquisitions. Charles crossed the Rhine, traversed Suabia to the Danube, passed that river, occupied the frontier of Bavaria and subdued the country. Besides great spoil, he returned with Bilitrud the widow of Grimoald, duke of Bavaria, and Swanahild her daughter. The latter he married, but it is doubtful if she enjoyed the full rights of a lawful wife. At any rate he did not, in the subsequent partition of his dominions, treat Grifo, his son by Swanahild, on equal terms with his other sons by Rotrud.³

Thus far the military achievements of Charles had been directed to the consolidation of the Frankish monarchy,

¹ Fredeg. Cont. c. 109; Annal. Mosell., Lauresh., Petav., a. 738.
² Annal. Lauresh., a. 934.

³ Fredeg. Cont. c. 108; Annal. S. Amandi, Petav., Juvav. a. 725; Einh., a. 741.

which his genius had raised to the first rank in the family of European nations. He was unquestionably the ablest ruler and best soldier of his time. The fine discipline and undoubted valor of the Franks in the hands of such a leader had quelled domestic insurrection, and terrified the undisciplined and unorganized pagan tribes, which held the vast territory eastward of the Rhine to beyond the Oder, and, with only few exceptions, from the Alps to the northern seas. But now there appeared another foe, the equal of those fierce pagans in cruel ferocity, but superior to them in military skill, numerical strength, and enthusiastic perseverance. He moved in vast masses essential to the gigantic dimensions of his undertaking, which at this time was nothing less than the subjugation of Europe.

The Arab warriors, who had swept like a whirlwind to the heart of Asia and subdued Persia and Syria, and with the same impetuous velocity had conquered Egypt, Africa and Spain, were thundering at the gates of Constantinople in the East, and forcing the Pyrenees in the West. Twice already Moslem hosts had penetrated into southern Gaul, but, though repulsed at Toulouse and in the Provence, the duke of Aquitaine lacked the power of dislodging them from Septimania.

732] Nor could he stem the tide of a fresh irruption which burst upon him from an opposite direction, when Abdel-Rhaman, who had won his laurels in the conquest of Africa and Spain, suddenly appeared in Gallic Vasconia, at the head of an army, which Arab writers estimate at eighty thousand strong. Duke Eudo hastily collected his forces and essayed to dispute the progress of the Saracens, but in vain, for they compelled him to cross the Garonne, fall back on Bordeaux, and give them battle. He sustained a crushing defeat, but escaped; while the victors carried Bordeaux by assault, sacked it, and laden with spoil, followed up their advantage.

They overran the whole of Aquitaine, crossed the Loire, and carried fire and sword into Burgundy as far as Autun and Sens. All Gaul and Western Europe seemed to lie

open to them. In his extremity the intrepid but perfidious Eudo hastened to Charles and invoked his aid; Charles granted it and forthwith summoned his *heerbann*. The best soldiery of the Franks and Burgundians, with Suabians, Bavarians and Thuringians from beyond the Rhine, flocked to his standard, and at his bidding marched westward to the rendezvous on the Loire.

The Arab leader, in the mean time advanced to Poitiers, which had closed its gates and prepared for defence, laid siege to the place, and attempted to carry it by assault, but failed. Believing it unwise to waste time under the walls of a city which in wealth could not compare with Tours, he raised the siege and marched upon that place.

Under the walls of Tours he heard that the Franks were coming, and ordering a retreat, pitched his camp either at a place called Cenon (formerly Sesone) and situated at the confluence of the Clain and Vienne near Poitiers, or at Miré, nearer to Tours, in a plain known as the *Landes de Charlemagne*.

The Franks arrived late in September or early in October. The numbers of the opposing armies are, as usual, greatly exaggerated. An Arab authority says that the Christian hosts "could not be numbered," and a Christian writer fables of a Moslem loss in slain, which he sets down at the incredible number of three hundred and seventy-five thousand. Leaving alone the actual numbers, those engaged on both sides were doubtless of considerable magnitude, and probably of equal strength, for they lay in comparative inactivity in sight of each other for the space of an entire week.

On the morning of the seventh or eighth day the Arab leader began the fight, which soon became general. Again and again the fierce Moslem horse charged upon the Frankish army, whose serried ranks stood "firm as a wall, and impenetrable as an iceberg," and were repulsed with great loss. In consequence of a report, called by the Arab historian, "a false alarm," that the Franks were in the rear of the Moslems, and plundering their camp, several squadrons

of their horse rode from the main line to protect the rear. The movement was misunderstood as one of retreat; confusion ensued; the whole Arab host gave way, and suffered terribly at the hands of the Franks, whose spears, falchions, and battle-axes dealt destruction in their scattered ranks.

Abdel-Rhaman tried in vain to rally them, and was slain in the attempt. The fall of their leader was the signal of general flight, in which multitudes of the Moslems were slain.

The personal valor of Charles, the terrible and deadly effect of his blows, inspired his host to heroic efforts, and earned for him, but not until much later, the surname "Martel," that is, the hammer.

When night set in, both armies withdrew to their camps.

The Arab account of the battle is most interesting. It runs as follows: "Near the river Owar (Loire?) the two great hosts of the two languages and the two creeds were set in array against each other.

"The hearts of Abderrahman, his captains, and his men, were filled with wrath and pride, and they were the first to begin the fight. The Moslem horsemen dashed fierce and frequent forward against the battalions of the Franks, who resisted manfully, and many fell dead on either side, until the going down of the sun. Night parted the two armies; but in the gray of the morning the Moslems returned to the battle. Their cavaliers had soon hewn their way into the centre of the Christian host. But many of the Moslems were fearful for the safety of the spoils which they had stored in their tents, and a false cry arose in their ranks that some of the enemy were plundering the camp; whereupon several squadron of the Moslem horsemen rode on to protect their tents. But it seemed as if they fled: and all the host was troubled. And while Abderrahman strove to check their tumult, and to lead them back to battle, the warriors of the Franks came around him, and he was pierced through with many spears, so that he died. Then all the host fled before the enemy, and many died in the flight. This deadly defeat of the Moslems, and the loss of the great leader and good cavalier Abderrahman, took place in the

hundred and fifteenth year."¹ The account differs in some respects from that recorded by Christian chroniclers, but the main point of a "deadly defeat" is fully corroborated.

The Frankish warriors slept in their camp, but, unless all the Christian records are at fault, the disorder and confusion incident upon the disaster of the defeat, the loss of their commander, and the dread of the expected pursuit, must have banished sleep from the eyes of the Moslems. It is said, or surmised, that the recriminations of the emirs led to armed conflict, that for want of a competent leader, the several commands acted for themselves, and under shelter of the night stealthily but hastily made good their escape. At break of day the Franks stood under arms prepared to renew the fight; but there was no sign of the presence of the dusky foe; the unwonted stillness of the hostile camp caused surprise, and could only mean stratagem or flight. To solve the matter some Franks were despatched to reconnoitre; they entered the camp without opposition and found it deserted; the Arabs had fled and left the bulk of their booty behind. It is known that their flight was precipitate and unchecked, until they reached Septimania and felt safe within the fortifications of Narbonne. It is also known that Charles Martel, doubtless on prudential grounds, forbore to pursue the flying enemy, and disbanded his army; his course seems to justify the reflection that "the inactivity of a conqueror betrays the loss of strength and blood, and the most cruel execution is inflicted, not in the ranks of battle, but on the backs of a flying enemy."² Had he ordered a pursuit, he might have annihilated the Moslems, and crushed at one blow, or at least in one campaign, a foe against whom he had to march in two subsequent campaigns, and who maintained himself in Narbonne twenty-seven years longer, until he was finally dislodged by his son Pepin in 759.

¹ Conde, *Historia de la Dominación de los Arabos en España*, Madrid, 1820, cited by Creasey in *Fifteen Decisive Battles of the World*, section 271. The year is that of the Hegera.

² Gibbon, *Decline and Fall*, etc., ch. lii.

The great victory of the battle of Tours, in which the genius of Charles Martel directed the stout hearts and iron hands¹ of his Teuton warriors to the utter discomfiture of the Arabs, and bade them abandon all hope of lifting the victorious Crescent in Central Europe, cannot be overestimated.

"It was a struggle between the East and West, South and North, Asia and Europe, the Gospel and the Koran, and we now say, on a general consideration of events, peoples, and ages, that the civilization of the world depended upon it."²

An English writer thinks that the victory of Charles Martel deserves to rank higher than that of Arminius "among those signal deliverances which have affected for centuries the happiness of mankind;"³ while a German historian indicates as "one of the most important epochs in the history of the world, the beginning of the eighth century, when on the one side Mohammedanism threatened to overspread Italy and Gaul, and on the other, the ancient idolatry of Saxony and Frisia once more forced its way across the Rhine. In this peril of Christian institutions, a youthful prince of Germanic race, Charles Martel, arose as their champion, maintained them with all the energy which the necessity of self-defence calls forth, and finally extended them into new regions."⁴

The lesson he taught the Moslems has never been forgotten; their writers constantly advert to the "deadly battle of Tours," call it a "disgraceful overthrow," and even now, after the lapse of more than eleven centuries, the reminiscence of that trial of strength, in which the splendid army of the redoubtable Abdel-Rhaman gave way under the iron strength of the Frankish host, the first they had ever met, lives in the designation of "Frank," by which Orientals of

¹ "Gens Austriæ membrorum pre-eminentiâ valida, et gens Germana corde et corpore præstantissima, quasi in ictu oculi, manû ferreâ, et pectore arduo, Arabes extinxerunt." Roderic. Toletan., c. XIV.

² Guizot, *History of France*, V. I., ch. ix.

³ Arnold, *History of the Later Roman Commonwealth*, V. II., p. 317.

⁴ Ranke, *History of the Reformation in Germany*, V. I., p. 5.

Mohammedan faith are wont to speak of European Christians. It was the "Frank" who taught them to respect the Cross.

733] After the battle of Tours, Eudo, as the vassal of Charles, had enough to do with repairing the damage done to his duchy, while Charles was busy with the work of recovering and reuniting to the Frankish monarchy the kingdom of Burgundy and the rich Provence. He retook Lyons, Vienne, Valence, and the country as far as the Durance, and appointed local governors charged with the double duty of keeping his involuntary subjects in order, and of protecting the country from further Arab incursions. They failed in both respects, promoted disaffection, and, thanks to the treasonable overtures of Maurontius, patrician of Arles, the Moslems returned, overran and occupied the whole country on the left bank of the Rhone for the space of two years.

The death of Eudo occasioned fresh trouble in Aquitaine; Charles, who had hastened thither and thrown Frankish garrisons into Bordeaux and Blaye, subdued the country, overcame the resistance of Eudo's sons, and took Hatto, one of them, prisoner, but confirmed Hunold, the other, who swore fealty, in the possession of the duchy under Frankish suzerainty. Then followed the day of reckoning in Burgundy and Gothia, or Septimania.

He sent his brother Hildebrand with an army to Avignon to lay siege to it, soon after followed in person with a second army, and took the city by storm; crossed the Rhone, entered Septimania, and marched upon Narbonne, the stronghold to which the Saracens had retired. A fresh body of Arabs, sent to the relief of the beleaguered city, arrived, and effected a landing at a point between Narbonne and the modern *Cap de la Franqui*. The movement was discovered, and its object defeated, for Charles, leaving part of his army before the city, marched against the new-comers and almost annihilated them within sight of their brethren. An attempt to carry the city by storm failed, while news of a fresh revolt of the Saxons compelled him to leave the seat of war. His march lay through the Septimanian towns

of Nîmes, Agde, Beziers, and Maguelonne, which he set on fire; and he also destroyed all the strongholds of the country.

But this wholesale devastation of an inimical religion only incensed the people to renewed revolt, and provoked a fresh incursion of the Arabs. Charles, with his wonted energy, hastened to chastise the Saxons,¹ and in the same season, at the head of a large army, retraced his steps with 739] the greatest speed to the south of France. He retook Avignon, crossed the Durance, and subdued the whole country to the sea; then swept with his conquering legions through the Provence, drove out the Moslems, made himself master of Marseilles and Arles, and added the whole of Southern Gaul on the left bank of the Rhone to his dominions.

Such is, in brief outline, the military career of Charles Martel. It remains to speak of him in other respects. His relations to the Church were peculiar. The Gallican clergy saw in him a sacrilegious and tyrannical spoiler of the Church, while Boniface the apostle of Germany and Willibrord the apostle of Frisia, and last, not least, the pope, regarded him as the saviour of Christendom, the zealous and invincible champion alike against the fierce pagans of the North, and the fanatical miscreants of the South. Without his patronage, writes Boniface, he would not have been able to guide the people or defend his clergy, or without his express command and the fear of his displeasure, forbid in Germany the practice of pagan rites and the sacrilegious worship of idols.

But why was he so obnoxious to the Gallican clergy?

¹ It is certain, that Charles in 738 entered the Saxon country, devastated it, made the people tributary, and took many hostages (Fredegar. Cont. 109; Annal. Mosell., Lauresh., Petav.)—and probable, that he hastened from Saxony to the south of France to join the army under his brother Hildebrand. After the flight of duke Maurontius

he subdued the whole country to the sea, advancing as far as Marseilles. Some place these events partly in 738 and 739; the authorities leave the matter undecided. (Fredeg. l. c.; Annal. Mosell., Lauresh., Petav. Alam. ad 739.—Paul. Diac. *Histor. Langob.* VI., 54 in MG. SS. I., 554; cf. Chron. Moiss.)

The matter is easily explained. His wars were costly, his revenue was small, and the Church was rich. He followed the example of the Merovingian kings and former mayors of the palace, and applied the possessions of the Church to the conduct of his military expeditions and the reward of the powerful chiefs who enabled him to conduct them. This he did on a large scale and in various ways. He gave the domains of the Church, "with the title of benefices in temporary holding, often converted into proprietorship and under the style of *precarious* tenure, to the chiefs in his service,"¹ and even rewarded them with the highest ecclesiastical dignities, such as abbacies and bishoprics.

The measure, which under constitutional governments, and by legislative enactments, has, in principle at least, been often adopted, was not a tyrannical spoliation, but a necessity, and had the express approbation of an ecclesiastical synod at which Boniface was present. "The impending wars," the Synod declared, "and the persecution of the pagan nations surrounding us, move us, under the advice of the servants of God and the Christian people, to resolve that certain portions of the possessions of the Church be applied, for some time to come, to the maintenance and support of the army, yet so that their tenure be precarious and subject to the payment of an annual rent."²

The Gallican clergy, nevertheless, loathed the measure as the unpardonable sin in this world and the next, not only during the lifetime of the high criminal, but for generations after his death. The true sentiment of the Frankish bishops may be read in the famous letter, which those assembled at Rheims in 858 addressed to Louis the Germanic, in which they say that "St. Eucherius, bishop of Orleans, who now reposeth in the monastery of St. Trudon, was ravished to the realms of eternity and saw there Charles Martel delivered over to the torments of the damned in the nethermost hell, by sentence of the saints

¹ Guizot, *History of France*, Vol. I., Rom. ac Germ., p. 391, ed. Argent., 1751. ch. 9.

² Heineccii *Histor. Juris. Civil.*

who, at the last day of judgment, will sit with Jesus Christ to judge the world; that then St. Eucherius, having demanded the reason thereof, was told by the angel his guide, that he was sentenced to this punishment for having robbed the churches of God of their possessions, by which act he had become guilty of the sins of all those who had endowed them," etc., etc.¹

Charles Martel's relations to the pope were friendly but not intimate. Towards the close of his reign pope Gregory III. invoked his aid against the Lombards; he sent a formal embassy of two nuncios with great presents, among which, the keys of St. Peter's tomb and the filings of his chains are specially mentioned, and begged him to accept the vague dignity of a Roman Consul. Charles received the nuncios with distinguished honor, returned the civility by ambassadors of his own, the bearers of still more precious gifts, but declined to be drawn into the dispute. He was on terms of amity with the Lombards, and could not forget the invaluable service which Liutprand at the head of an auxiliary force had recently rendered him in the campaign against the Saracens;² but promised to use his influence with the king in the direction of a more pacific policy. Such was the extent of the negotiations between Charles and Gregory when both died within a month of each other. Charles died October 22d, and the pope in November, 741. Charles was buried in the Church of St. Denis.

The last act of Charles Martel has been censured as unwise; he divided the dominion, to whose reconstruction and

¹ A. 858 apud Carisiacum, ed. Baluze, t. II., art. 7, p. 109.—Cf. Roth, *Beneficialwesen*, 466-470.

² The epitaph of Liutprand asserts his personal presence in the Saracenic war. . . . deinde tremuere feroces usque Saraceni, quos dispulit impiger, ipsos cum premerent Gallos, Karolo poscente, juvari. Note to Paul. Diacon., apud Muratori, c. lviii. The Lombard historian states

that Charles invoked, and Liutprand rendered, the aid he sought. His relations to the Lombard were cordial; he sent his son Pepin to the court of Liutprand, requesting him, in further token of their amity, to adopt Pepin by the symbolic act of cutting his hair. Paul. Diac., H. L., 53 sq. in MG. SS. Lang., 183; cf. II with Chron. Noval. III, I.

defence he had devoted so many years of toilsome and heroic effort, between his two sons Carloman and Pepin, and made certain provision for Grifo, his youngest son by Swanahild, a princess of Bavaria, to whom he was married morganatically.¹

In the division Carloman received Austrasia,² Suavia (or Alemannia, as the latter province or duchy was then called), and Thuringia; while to Pepin was assigned the rule of Burgundy, Neustria, and the Provence. The provision for Grifo was restricted to sundry estates in, or portions of, Neustria, Austrasia, and Burgundy, which were given to him as vassal of his brothers, not as an independent sovereign.³

¹ Some deny the marriage altogether. See authorities for the controversy in Böhmer-Mühlbacher, *l. c.*, No. 37 c. The fact that her name appears in a contemporary document as *inlustis matrona* seems to favor a marriage. See Böhm.-Mühlb. *l. c.*, No. 43.

The current title of Charles Martel was: *Inluster vir K. maiorem domus filius Pippini quondam*.

² On the extent of Austrasia, see Spruner-Menke, *Hand-Atlas*, Vorbericht., 33.

³ Annal. Metten.

CHAPTER II.

PEPIN.

Fraternal concord of Carloman and Pepin.—Carloman abdicates and turns monk.—Pepin sole ruler.—Pope Zacharias.—Childeric III. deposed.—Pepin, king of the Franks.—Grifo slain.—Astolf and Pope Stephen.—Stephen visits Pepin.—Astolf humbled.—His death.—Division of the kingdom.—Death of Pepin.

PEPIN and Carloman entered upon their inheritance as mayors of the palace, probably under the title of dukes.¹

The evil consequences of the injudicious partition became soon apparent. Insurrections broke out among the Saxons, Alemanni and Bavarians; Hunold, the new duke of Aquitaine, attempted to recover his independence, and the restive Arabs of Septimania renewed their predatory and vexatious incursions.

The German notables, moreover, disliked and viewed with suspicion the prolonged vacancy in the nominal royal throne. This difficulty was easily overcome, for the brothers discovered the last descendant of Clovis, and in due course, probably at the next March-field (743?), effected his elevation.

Their brother Grifo, also, at the instigation of his mother, the Bavarian princess Swanahild, rose in arms and claimed the inheritance. They marched against him, took Laon

¹ Carloman's title is given generally as: "*K. maiorem domus filius Karoli quondam*;" but the *Capitulaire* a. 743 (?) (of Liftinas=Lestines, now Estinnes, in Belgium S.E. of Mons.—Jaffé, Bibl. III, 129 No. 2) apud Baluz. Capit. I., 825, introduces it as: "*dux et princeps Francorum*."—That of Pepin

also appears ordinarily as "*maio rem domus*" with the additional "*inluster vir*;" but the *Capitulaire* of Soissons (Baluz. I, 155) a. 744 introduces him as "*dux et princeps Francorum*;" this applies, of course, only to the portion of his reign prior to November, 751.

which he had seized, and placed him in close confinement in the fortress of Neufchâteau in the Ardennes.

Fortunately they had the good sense of clinging together in cordial union, with the result that their authority was acknowledged at home, and its recognition speedily enforced in the outlying provinces and dependencies of the Frankish empire.

743] Their energy was remarkable; in one year they undertook two successful expeditions against the Aquitanians and Alemannians, and in the next, jointly defeated and routed the army of their rebellious brother-in-law, Odilo, 744] duke of the Bavarians; then they separated, and while Carloman chastised the Saxon Theoderic, Pepin stamped out a revolt in Alsatia.

This harmonious co-operation continued two years longer, and was followed by the mysterious and still unexplained abdication of Carloman in favor of Pepin. It was a strange act, and although we may take our choice among the reasons which have been given, and speculate on the extent of his "devotion," "predilection for the contemplative life," or "remorse for cruelty in war," we cannot understand how any or all of them could justify it in so far as it affected the future of his sons. The spontaneous character of his abdication may be true in his own case, but few thinking people will believe that it was unaccompanied by pressure in the case of the sons who, though he commended them to Pepin, lost their inheritance, and practically vanished out of existence.¹ His case, though the most conspicuous, is not the first example of the kind. 'Ceolwulf was the eighth Anglo-Saxon prince who turned monk, and Hunold, duke of Aquitaine, after an act of atrocious cruelty, donned the monastic garb in the island of Rhé, where his father was buried. His case was singular. He lured his brother Hatto from the city of Poitiers, had his eyes put out, abdicated in

¹ Annal. Einh.; Vita Caroli M. c. 2; reliquit filiosque suos Pippino fratri Annal. Petavian., MG. SS. I, 11; commendavit." Chron. Moissiac., a. III, 170; Vita Zachariæ, apud Murat. ss. III, 164.—"Sponte regnum 745.

favor of his son Waifre, turned monk, and remained in that monastery until his son died, a quarter of a century later. Then he returned to his duchy, and to his wife,¹ but not to stay, as the sequel will show.

Carloman soon executed his purpose, went to Italy, took the monastic vows, and built a monastery on Mount Soracte, where he "enjoyed, for several years, the seclusion he desired; but so many Franks made the pilgrimage to Rome to fulfil their vows, and, on the way, insisted upon paying their respects to him, as their former lord, that the repose he so much loved was broken by these frequent visits, and he was compelled to change his abode. Accordingly . . . he abandoned the mountain, withdrew to the monastery of St. Benedict, near the castle of Monte Casino, in the province of Samnium,"² and remained there, until, in an access of political aspiration, he returned to the world, to the indignation alike of the pope and his brother, and to his own unspeakable sorrow.

His abdication left Pepin sole ruler of the Franks. Pepin, though short of stature, was a man of prodigious strength, and his physical endowment a fair exponent of his will power and intellectual calibre.

About this time Grifo effected his escape. He fled first into Saxony, then into Bavaria, collected a large army, seized the government, and constrained Tassilo, duke of Bavaria, to make his submission. This course angered Pepin, who marched against him, took him prisoner, restored Tassilo, but, in token of his fraternal good feeling, and with a view to reconciliation, set Grifo over twelve counties in Neustria. His unruly step-brother, however, disliked the arrangement, soon broke loose again, and fled to Waifre, duke of Aquitaine.

Retracing the course of events to the time of the accession of Pepin and Carloman, the situation in Italy now claims attention.

The imperilled fortunes of the Church of Rome passed

¹ Muratori, *Annali d'Italia*, a. 747.

² Vita Caroli, c. 2.

about the same time into the able hands of Zacharias, who entered upon the duties of the pontificate without the formality of its confirmation by the Greek emperor, or his representative, the exarch; and concluding that neither of these, nor the Frankish princes, were likely to espouse his cause against the Lombards, established amicable relations with Liutprand, and maintained them with growing cordiality until he died.

Liutprand was succeeded by his nephew Hildebrand, for nine years past his associate in the throne; but his reign was of short duration, for after only seven months the people deposed him and elevated Rachis, duke of Friuli, to his place.

With him also Zacharias lived on pleasant terms—and, strange to tell, such was the magic of his presence, that Rachis, at his bidding, not only gave up all hostile designs upon the city of Perugia, which he had invested, but abdicated the throne, turned monk, and joined the whilom duke of Austrasia in the cloister of Monte Casino. Nor was the conversion confined to the person of the king, for his wife and daughter also gave up the pomp and glory of the world, and withdrew to the retirement of the neighboring convent of Piombaruola.

749] The presence of two royal converts in a monastery within his call added lustre to the fame for sagacity which the successful intervention of Zacharias in public affairs had spread throughout Europe. And so it came to pass that Boniface, who was a warm admirer and earnest partisan of the pontiff, and had the ear of Pepin, suggested the expedient of submitting to his decision the vexed question of the Frankish kings.

The mockery of that phantom royalty, so long maintained, was universally felt, and its utter uselessness as universally acknowledged. Charles Martel reasoned, if he did not say so, that it were better to have no king at all than the contemptible puppets who disgraced their ancestry and the royal office. It was his policy, and indeed that of all the mayors of the palace, to lessen respect for the effete Merovingian

race, and prepare the nations united in the Frankish confederation for the accession of a new dynasty. This is doubtless the true reason why he allowed the throne to remain vacant for the space of four years.¹

Pepin, now sole ruler of the Franks, thought the time had come for a radical change, and had the mettle and tact to accomplish it.

He designated Burchard, bishop of Würzburg, and Folrad, his priest-chaplain, ambassadors to Rome, and instructed them to submit the whole case to the wise judgment of Zacharias. The story of their mission and of the *coup d'état*, for such it was, of contemporary record, reads as follows:

"A.D. 750.—Pepin sent ambassadors to Pope Zacharias to ask his opinion in the matter of the kings of the Franks, who, though of the line royal, and bearing the regal title, took no part in the conduct of the government except that official documents were issued in their name; they were destitute of power, and only did what the mayor of the palace told them.

"When upon the set day of the March Assembly the gifts of the people, according to ancient usage, were presented to the sovereign, the king, surrounded by the military, sat in his chair, the mayor of the palace standing before him, and proclaimed such laws as had been established by the Franks. When this was done he returned home, and stayed there during the remainder of the year.

"Pope Zacharias, therefore, in virtue of apostolic authority, told the ambassadors that he judged it better and more advantageous that the regal title and office should inhere in the person already clothed with executive power, and not in that of one who was falsely called king.

"The said pontiff accordingly enjoined the king and the people of the Franks, that Pepin, already clothed with regal power, should be duly called king and raised to the throne.

"And this was done by St. Boniface, archbishop, who

¹ "Sine alio rege imperavit."—Geneal. Reg. Merov. MG. SS. II., 308.

anointed him king in the city of Soissons. Pepin was called king, and Childeric, falsely called king, was shaven, and sent to the monastery."¹

The story of this revolutionary change of dynasty is adroitly placed by Einhard, or Eginhard, the biographer of Charles the Great, at the beginning of his work, composed after the death of his patron. It reads as follows:

"The Merovingian family, from which the Franks used to choose their kings, is commonly said to have lasted until the time of Childeric, who was deposed, shaven, and thrust into the cloister by command of the Roman pontiff Stephen.² But although, to all outward appearance, it ended with him, it had long since been devoid of vital strength, and conspicuous only from bearing the empty epithet royal; the real power and authority in the kingdom lay in the hand of the chief officer of the court, the so-called mayor of the palace, and he was at the head of affairs. There was nothing left the king to do but to be content with his name of king, his flowing hair, and long beard; to sit on his throne and play the ruler; to give ear to the ambassadors that came from all quarters, and to dismiss them as if on his own responsibility, in words that were, in fact, suggested to him, or even imposed upon him. He had nothing that he could call his own beyond this vain title of king, and the precarious support allowed by the mayor of the palace in his discretion, except a single country-seat, that brought him a very small income. There was a dwelling-house upon this, and a small number of servants attached to it, sufficient to perform the necessary offices. When he had to go abroad he used to ride in a cart, drawn by a yoke of oxen, driven, peasant fashion, by a ploughman; he rode in this way to the palace and general assembly of the people, that met once a year for the welfare of the kingdom, and he returned home in like manner. The mayor of the

¹ Annal. Lauriss. minor. MG. SS. I., 116. See the authorities for the deposition of Childeric and the coronation of Pepin, in the "Appendix," A.

² This is, of course, a mistake. Substitute "Zacharias." See also Hallam, *Middle Ages*, ch. vii.

palace took charge of the government, and of everything that had to be planned or executed at home or abroad.

"At the time of Childeric's deposition, Pepin, the father of King Charles, held this office of mayor of the palace, one might almost say, by hereditary right; for Pepin's father, Charles, had received it at the hands of his father, Pepin, and filled it with distinction."¹

The instructions given to Burchard and Folrad were doubtless precise and minute, and Zacharias could have no hesitation as to the answer he was expected to give, and gave.

It was published far and near, in preparation of the coming event, in the year following, when, in the presence and by consent of the General Assembly of the hierarchy, nobility, and people, was enacted the formal deposition of Childeric III., and the proclamation of Pepin as king of the Franks.

There was the customary and time-honored acclamation, the impressive clash of arms, the significant elevation on the buckler, and the grand ceremonial of the Church, administered by the venerable Boniface, who poured holy oil on the head of the first king of the Franks of Carolingian lineage.

The ecclesiastical fiction of unction being the seal of divine authority, or conferring the same right as that divinely bestowed on the kings of Israel, was probably an unction to the soul and uneasy conscience of Pepin, and served the purpose of salving over his dubious title to the throne.

In plain speech, the deposition of Childeric was a political necessity, the coronation of Pepin perhaps a necessary usurpation, and the reference of the case to papal decision a precedent as dangerous to the prince and his successors, as salutary to the aspirations of Zacharias and the pretensions of his successors.

¹ The version of the text is taken from Turner's translation of Eginhard's *Life of Charlemagne*, from *Monumenta Germaniæ*, New York, 1880.

Common sense and even-handed justice demanded the important preliminary inquiries, if the alleged powers of the mayors of the palace had been rightfully acquired, if the proposed change in the dynasty was founded in justice, and if the pope had any vested right enabling him to dispose of what did not belong to him and adjudicate a case in which only one side was heard. Possession, it seems, was even then nine points of the law, might was right, and beyond this the will of the Franks was the most valid title to the elevation of Pepin, who, perhaps because of the defective character of that title, added, it is believed, for the first time the words "by the grace of God" to his official designation.

Volumes have been written on the subject that Pepin became king by authority of the pope. It is doubtful if the words "authority," "injunction," "commandment," etc., designated at the time more than simple approbation, but certain that thenceforth arose the opinion that the vested right of deposing or appointing kings at will inhered in the pontifical office. Gregory VII. cited this case as a precedent establishing his indubitable right of deposing emperors.

Impartiality imposes the duty of a parting word on behalf of the last Merovingian kings, who are so constantly mentioned by the annalists in contemptuous phrase. They wrote under the new dynasty, and felt that representing their shortcomings in the most odious light was the best way of gilding those of their successors. They describe them as cowardly and imbecile sluggards, but also record the fact that the craft and machinations of the mayors of the palace made them such. If a man is bound hand and foot, locked up in a monastery or on a farm, it is difficult to tell if he is industrious or lazy, courageous or craven, quick or slow in his movements.¹

But be this as it may, Pepin became king, and poor Childeric, shorn of his royal beard and locks, found a living

¹ This is the drift of some capital reflections made by Schmidt, "*Geschichte der Deutschen*," ii, p. 131.

tomb in the monastery of St. Sithiu at St. Omer. Pope **752]** Zacharias died soon after, and was succeeded by Stephen, the second or third pontiff of that name.¹

753] One of the first military acts of King Pepin was the suppression of an almost annual revolt of the Saxons; he devastated their country, took many prisoners and great spoil, and bound them by oaths to the punctual payment of an annual tribute of three hundred horses, to fidelity, and the reception of Christian missionaries.²

Upon his return he heard, probably at Bonn, that Grifo, his brother, was dead. On his flight to the Lombards, he had an encounter with Theodoin, count of Vienne, and Frederic, count of Burgundy, in the valley of Maurienne, on the southern declivity of the Jura range, in which he was slain.³

About the same time alarming intelligence was received from Italy. King Astolf, true to the aggressive policy of his predecessors, had entered the exarchate and possessed himself of Ravenna, in direct and flagrant violation of the provisions of a treaty of amity recently entered into by the pope and himself. The treaty had been concluded for forty years, but did not last more than four months. Stephen protested, but in vain, for Astolf was imperious, menacing, and exacting. He proposed the alternative of war, or instant submission of Rome and the payment of tribute.

All remonstrance was in vain; an imperial representative protested against the invasion of the exarchate, but his protest was not heeded. The king, at the head of an army, marched upon Rome, and was approaching the city.

Great was the consternation of the pope and the Roman people.⁴ He appointed a solemn procession, in which he walked barefooted, and the Romans, with ashes on their

¹ The third, if the immediate successor of Zacharias, also called Stephen, who died a day after his election, is counted.

² Fredeg. cont. c. 118; Annal. Lauriss., Mett.

³ Annal. Lauriss., Mett., Petav., Chron. Adon., Fredeg. cont. c. 118.

⁴ Anastas., Vita Steph. II.

heads, made the round of all the sacred places; he carried the famous picture of Christ, called the Antecopsita, fastened a copy of the broken treaty to the holy cross, and invoked the aid and vengeance of Heaven against the perfidious and sacrilegious Lombards. But the times were not favorable to a miraculous deliverance by means of litanies and comminations; neither the prayers nor the curses arrested the progress of the enemy; and in the extremity of his despair the pope appealed to Pepin, the patrician of Rome.¹

The king of the Franks had his hands full with domestic troubles, especially with the refractory duke of Aquitaine, and the Moslems, who still held Narbonne, and could not, so late in the year, undertake an expedition into Italy. But the pressure was great, and Stephen now proposed a visit to the king. The matter was discussed in a national assembly of the Franks, and Chrodegang, bishop of Metz, together with duke Autchar, were commissioned to set out for Italy and escort the pope.

Stephen nerved himself to undergo the fatigue and peril of so long a journey, but though miracles attended his progress, he neither disdained to make an attempt of plundering the treasures of the Church at Ravenna, nor shrunk from that of entreating or awing the king of the Lombards into compliance with his demands, which were the immediate restoration of all the Lombard conquests. Astolf would fain have diverted him from his journey and retained him, but the ambassadors of Pepin protected him, and enabled him to leave Pavia unhurt. At the convent of St. Maurice, where he hoped to find Pepin, he was met by duke Rothard and abbot Folrad,² with a message from the king, and orders to conduct him to the court.

The king's eldest son, Prince Charles,³ then only in his

¹ See, on the meaning of the term "patrician," the Appendix, B.

² The same who submitted the question to Pope Zacharias, and was now abbot of St. Denis.

³ This is the first mention of Charles in history. I accept April 2, 742, as the date of his birth. The marriage of Pepin and Bertrada is said to have taken place in 744, some say as late

twelfth year, at the head of a cavalcade, met him at a distance of a hundred miles from Ponthion; at a distance of three miles from the palace Pepin himself, with Queen Bertrada and the royal family, and attended by a glittering assemblage of courtiers, gave him greeting. The papal biographer reports that the king at his approach dismounted, and, together with the queen, his sons, and the nobility present, fell prostrate on the ground before him, and that the king walked by his side and held his stirrup.

The pope and his clergy gave vent to their feelings in hymns of thanksgiving, and proceeded chanting to the palace, where, if the Frankish records are true, the [754, Jan. 6] pope and his clergy, clad in sackcloth and with ashes on their heads, returned the compliment of prostration and refused to rise until the king had promised his aid against Astolf.

He passed his royal word under oath to do as the pope requested, and bade him take up his abode in the abbey of St. Denis.

Meanwhile an embassy was sent to Astolf requiring him to give assurance of not further molesting the patrimony of St. Peter. This he refused to do, and thereupon the Annual Assembly of the Franks resolved to go to war.¹

This national act indicates the pope's personal influence. The general sentiment of the Franks was opposed to armed intervention, but the persuasion of his eloquence and judi-

as 749. The earlier date is attested in the *Annales* communicated by Goldmann in *Neues Archiv* XII, 404: "744. [con]junctio Pippini regis et Bertrade regine;" the latter date in *Annal. Bertiniani*, 749, rec Waitz: "Pippinus coniugem duxit Bertradam cognomine Bertram, Chariberti Laudunensis comitis filiam." It is difficult to set aside this testimony, which seems to establish the fact that Pepin lived with Bertrada before his marriage, and that Charles was born before that event.

This circumstance, moreover, may explain the silence of Einhard, and the bitter feelings between the brothers; for Carloman, said to have been born in 751 (*Annal. Petav.* MG. SS. I, 11), may have claimed the prerogative of legitimacy, and denied it to his elder brother.—Hahn, *Jahrbücher d. fränk. Reichs*, pp. 5. 151 sqq.; Oelsner, *Jahrb. d. f. Reichs unter König Pippin*, pp. 18, 352; Simson, *id. unter Karl. d. Grossen*, 2d ed. I., 13.

¹ *Annal. Einh.*, Lauriss. a. 754.

cious attentions in the form of presents, together with the halo of sanctity attached to his person, overcame it. For he was the first pope who had ever crossed the Alps, and the distinguished honors which Pepin lavished upon him, as well as the impassioned earnestness of his appeal, evoked the hearty sympathy and unanimous support of the estates of the realm.¹

Astolf, for his part, remained not idle and tried to prevent the war by every means in his power. As a last resort he despatched an envoy in the person of Carloman, the king's own brother, thinking his influence sufficient to break the new alliance between Pepin and the pope. The choice was unfortunate, for the relations of the two brothers were not happy. Carloman doubtless grieved over the harsh treatment of his family, and may have thought the juncture favorable to the reassertion of his rights. At any rate his appearance on the scene strengthened the papal cause, and hurt his own.

The clergy explained his course by diabolical influence; Pepin saw in it a peril and a menace, and the pope denounced it as an unjustifiable breach of his vows. The result was, that the unfortunate and deluded monk-prince was imprisoned for life in the monastery at Vienne, and that his sons were shaven, and thus disqualified in the succession.

The imprisonment of Carloman was not of long duration; he took a fever, was nursed by queen Berthrada, and died Dec. 9, 754, before Pepin returned from Italy. His remains, by order of the king, were taken to Monte Casino, where he had assumed the monastic garb.²

Both Pepin and Stephen again exhorted and entreated Astolf to surrender peaceably the possessions of the Church and of the Roman Commonwealth,³ but he was deaf to entreaty or menace, and prepared to dispute the progress of the Frankish army on its descent from the Alps. He attacked the vanguard of the Franks and was defeated; Pepin

¹ Vita Caroli, c. 6.

² Annal. Einh. a. 753, 755.—Mo-

sell., Lauresh., Petav.—Anast. Vita Steph.

³ Vita Steph. 31-33.

with the bulk of his troops pursued him to Pavia, invested the city, and compelled him to accept the terms of an ignominious peace, according to which he pledged himself on oath to restore the territory of Rome, and never at any future time vex it with hostile incursions. He also gave hostages, and, according to one authority, not only paid Pepin an indemnity of thirty thousand gold solidi, but promised the payment of an annual tribute of five thousand more.¹

Stephen would fain have persuaded Pepin to prolong his stay in Italy until the terms of the peace had been fulfilled, but the king took the hostages and returned to Francia. He had no sooner passed the Alps than Astolf voided the solemn engagement, and a month later marched with an army upon Rome, ravaged the country, blockaded the city, and demanded the surrender of the pope. Nothing short of that would satisfy him. He stood under the walls, and harangued the Romans, saying: "Open to me the Salarian gate that I may enter the city, and deliver to me your pontiff."² In case of refusal he threatened to destroy the city, and avowed his purpose not to restore so much as a foot of land to St. Peter or the Roman Commonwealth.³

In the extremity of his distress, Stephen despatched messengers by sea to Pepin, with letters urging his speedy return. In a first letter, he wrote that his royal ally "hazarded eternal damnation if he did not complete the donation which he had vowed to St. Peter, and St. Peter had promised him eternal life. If the king was not faithful to his word, the apostle had his handwriting to the grant, which he would produce against him in the day of judgment." A second letter, which was placed in the hands of the Frankish envoy, the martial abbot Warnerius, came on the heels of the first. It depicted the terror of the situation, the menace of Astolf, that unless the pope were surrendered he would put the whole city to the sword. He had already burned all the villas and suburbs, plundered and defiled the

¹ Fredegar. cont. c. 120.—cf. Annal. Metten.; Lauriss. maj., et minor. a. 753.

² Steph. epist. Gretser, 261.

³ Ibid.

altars; his soldiers had laid violent hands on nuns and matrons; all the horrors of war were about to burst on the devoted city, which had endured a siege of fifty-five days. He adjured Pepin, by all that was sacred, to hasten to the rescue, and promised him, as the guerdon of his deliverance, "victory over all the barbarian nations, and eternal life."

Still a third letter followed, the most extraordinary of all, written, indeed, by the hand of Stephen, but composed in heaven by no less a personage than St. Peter, who delivers messages from the Mother of God, the thrones and dominions and all the host of heaven, adjuring the tardy Pepin and his Franks to hasten to the rescue of Rome, informing him that, as of all nations under heaven the Franks are highest in the esteem of St. Peter, and that, as they owe to him all their past victories, so he promises them thereafter long life, happiness and triumphal success on earth, and the richest felicity in heaven, in recompense of their swift obedience, yet threatening them with exclusion from the kingdom of heaven, and the loss of eternal life, as the just retribution of their disregard of his exhortation.¹

Among the most striking passages of this unique epistle are the following:

"Peter called to be an apostle by Jesus Christ, the Son of the Living God, who reigning from everlasting with the Father in the Unity of the Holy Spirit, was in these last days incarnate and became man for the salvation of us all, and has redeemed us with His precious blood through the will of the paternal glory, as He has determined in the Holy Scriptures through His holy prophets; and through me [Peter], all the Catholic and Apostolic Church of Rome, the head of all the Churches of God, founded through the

¹ See the Epistles in Cod. Carol. (ed. Jaffé), Nos. 6-10. "This letter, like those preceding it, is full of quibbles. The Church signifies not the company of believers, but temporal possessions consecrated to the service of God; the flock of Christ is represented by the bodies, not by the souls,

of men; the temporal promises of the ancient law are mixed up with the spiritual promises of the Gospel, and the most sacred motives of religion are pressed into the service of a simple affair of state."—Fleury, *Ecl. History*, l. xlvii, c. 17.

blood of our Redeemer on the firm rock (*petram*), with Stephen, chief (*præsul*)¹ of that gracious Church, pray: that grace, peace, and power for plucking the said Holy Church of God, and the people of Rome to me committed, out of the hands of her persecutors, may be abundantly ministered from the Lord our God unto you most excellent men, Pepin, Charles, and Carloman, three princes, and to the most holy bishops, abbots, presbyters, and all the religious monks, as well as to the dukes, counts, and people in France.

"I, Peter the Apostle, even as I have been called by Christ the Son of the Living God, after the counsel of clemency supernal, so I have through His power been preordained illuminator of the whole world by the express sanction of the Lord our God, to wit, 'Go ye, teach all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit' (Matthew, xxviii.); and again, 'Receive ye the Holy Spirit, whosoever sins ye remit, they are remitted unto them' (John, xxi.), and to me His poor servant and called an apostle, He severally did commit all His sheep, when He said: 'Feed my sheep; feed my lambs,' and again, 'Thou art Peter, and upon this rock will I build my Church, and the gates of hell shall not prevail against her. And I will give unto thee the keys of the kingdom of heaven. Whatsoever thou shalt bind upon earth, shall be bound also in heaven, and whatsoever thou shalt loose upon earth, shall be loosed also in heaven.' (Matthew, xvi.)

"Wherefore, all who hearing my words (*prædicationem*) shall fulfil the same, will assuredly believe that by divine appointment their sins are loosed in this world, and that they shall enter the life to come pure and immaculate. . . .

¹ *Præsul*. The origin of this appellation or title of the popes, which they appear to have greatly affected, is historically demonstrable. In Pagan Rome it was the specific title of the chief priest of *Mars Gravidus*, or leader of the *Salii*, who during the festival of Mars, which was celebrated by the

Salii on the 1st of March and several successive days, was wont to leap and dance through the city. The *præsul* was the chief of the *Salians*, and so called from his dancing before the rest; the etymology of the word being *præ*, before, and *salio*, to leap.

"Under no circumstances, most dearly beloved, think otherwise, but most assuredly believe that I myself, as if I were in the flesh, and stood alive in your presence before you, through this exhortation bind and oblige you by valid adjurations, because according to the promise given unto us by the same Lord God and our Redeemer, we hold you, even all the people of the Franks in peculiar favor and higher than all other nations. For which reason I Peter, the Apostle of God, protest, admonish and conjure spiritually¹ (*tanquam in ænigmate*) and by this valid obligation, you, the Most Christian Kings, Pepin, Charles, and Carloman, with all the priests, bishops, abbots and presbyters, and all religious monks, as well as all judges, dukes, counts, and all the people of the kingdom of the Franks, even as if I were bodily in the flesh, and alive present before you, firmly to believe that the words of this exhortation are addressed to you, and that though I be bodily absent, I am spiritually present, even as it is written: 'He that receiveth a prophet in the name of a prophet, receiveth a prophet's reward.' (Matthew, x. 41.)

"Our Lady, also, the Mother of God, the ever Virgin Mary, with us adjures, protests, admonishes and commands you by most solemn obligations, she as well as the thrones and dominions, and all the hosts of heaven, together with all the martyrs and confessors of Christ, and all who in any way are pleasing to God, even all these unite in this our solemn exhortation, protestation, and adjuration.

"That you may tenderly grieve for this city of Rome, to us divinely committed, and for the flock of Christ there abiding, and for the Holy Church of God, to me commended by the Lord;

"That you will defend and deliver her without unnecessary delay from the persecuting hands of the Lombards;

¹ *Tanquam in ænigmate*. I have rendered simply "spiritually," for "as it were in an enigma," though literal, appeared to me to be too enigmatical, but perhaps not more so than the thing itself; to men of ordinary intelligence it must always remain an insoluble enigma how the spirit of the defunct apostle could have spoken through the mouth of his pretended vicar, as he is represented to have done.

"Lest, God forbid, my body which for the Lord did suffer cruel torments, and my house, where by divine appointment it is laid to rest, be by them defiled, and my peculiar people be yet more lacerated and massacred by the wicked race of the Lombards, infamous for flagrant perjury, and notorious for their transgressions of the Sacred Scriptures;

"Extend, then, by the aid of God and with all the power at your command, your mighty help to my people of Rome, your brethren, to me of God committed in this life, that I, Peter, called an apostle of God, may protect you in this life and in the day of judgment, preparing for you the most glorious mansions in the kingdom of heaven, and promising to you the richest prize of eternal reward, as well as the infinite delights of Paradise, if as quickly as you may be able you will hasten to the defence of this my city and own people of Rome, your brethren, from the hands of the wicked Lombards.

"Hasten, oh, hasten, I exhort and adjure you by the living and true God, hasten and assist us, before the living fountain of your spiritual life and renovation is dried up; before the residue of the glimmering spark of the burning flame from which your light has been drawn is wholly extinct; before your spiritual mother, the Holy Church of God, wherein you hope to find eternal life, is humbled, invaded, violated, and defiled by impious hands. . . .

"I adjure you, I adjure you, most dearly beloved, as aforesaid, by the living God, and without reserve protest, that ye will not in any, not the least wise allow this, my city of Rome and the people therein abiding, to be any longer lacerated by the race of the Lombards, lest your own bodies and souls be lacerated and tormented in everlasting and extinguishable hell fire, with the devil and his pestilential angels, and the sheep of the Lord's flock (to me by God committed), that is to say, the Roman people, to be any longer scattered.

"May the Lord not scatter and cast you forth, as He has scattered the people of Israel. . . .

"Behold, most dearly beloved sons, I have charged and ad-

monished you, that if you obey speedily great will be your reward, and, by my suffrage, you shall in this life be crowned with victory over all your enemies, blessed with length of days, and filled with all the good things of earth, and made partakers of the bliss of eternal life in the world to come.

"If, however, as we do not believe, by reason of any delay or pretext whatsoever, you linger in giving effect to this our exhortation, that is to say, if you do not hasten to deliver this my city of Rome, and the people there abiding, as well as the Holy Apostolic Church (to me by the Lord committed), together with the Head (*præsulem*) of the same, know ye, by authority of the Holy and Sole Trinity, through the apostolic grace to me by Christ the Lord committed, that for such transgression of our exhortation you shall be alienated from the Kingdom of God, and from eternal life.

"But God and our Lord Jesus Christ who has redeemed us with His precious blood, brought us to the light of the truth, and appointed us to be preachers and enlighteners of the whole world, grant you to know, understand, and provide all things necessary to your speedy arrival for the deliverance of this city of Rome, and of all the people, or the Holy Church of God (to me by the Lord committed), and of His infinite mercy, and by my suffrage, deign to enrich you with length of days, security, and victory in this life, and in the life to come multiply to you the blessings of His reward in the company of His saints and chosen. Fare ye well."

The reader may well pause and take breath, after perusing so daring and impious a forgery. What shall we think of it? Stephen knew Pepin and his sons, as well as their counsellors, and unless he had believed them capable of being influenced by such means, would hardly have hazarded so perilous and audacious an experiment. On the other hand, it seems incredible that Pepin and his court could be thus duped, and more probable that he acted from policy or resentment. But all speculation on the subject is idle, for the fact remains that he hastened, with a large army, to the relief of Stephen and the further punishment of Astolf.

He advanced by way of Châlons-sur-Marne and Geneva

to the valley of Maurienne, where Grifo had been slain, crossed Mount Cenis, defeated the Lombards at the Cluses, invested Pavia, and compelled Astolf to agree to the terms of an ignominious peace.

Astolf might live and rule, but only on delivering forthwith one-third of the royal treasure then at Pavia, and engaging, by means of new oaths and hostages, never thereafter to rebel against Pepin and the Franks, and to pay the annual tribute which the Lombards, for a long time past, had been wont to pay the Franks; he likewise undertook the instant restoration of all the cities and territory belonging to the jurisdiction of the Roman Empire, but then under Lombard occupation.¹

This treaty was concluded in presence of the Byzantine representative, who claimed, or proposed, on tempting terms, the restitution to the emperor at Constantinople of Ravenna and the exarchate. Pepin, acting in the interest, not improbably under the inspiration,² of the pope, disallowed it, and, alleging the right of conquest, declared that he had undertaken the war solely from veneration for St. Peter, and forthwith disposed of the whole territory in question, which comprehended (in modern phrase) the Romagna, the Duchy of Urbino, and part of the Marches of Ancona, in favor of the pope and his successors.³

The pope, whose influence and intercourse with the prince of the apostles⁴ appears, from his own letters, to have been

¹ Fredegar, cont. c. 45, 121; cf. Chron. Moiss., Annal. Lauriss. mai. et min., a. 755; Vita Stephani, c. 46.

² In his letter to Pepin, Stephen is at pains to impress him with his duty to protect the Catholic Church against malicious wickedness (which *malitia* Milan correctly understands to refer to the iconoclastic heresy of the emperor) and to keep her property secure.

³ See the authorities for the grant in the "Appendix," C.

⁴ The agency of St. Peter is one of

the most curious things in these strange chapters of history. He not only writes letters and delivers messages from the Holy Virgin and all the hierarchy of heaven, but, by the potency of his intercession, heals the sick, confounds the enemies of the Church, and conducts the Franks to victory, while, in the exercise of his high prerogatives, he also dispenses eternal blessings and punishments. But, singularly enough, from some cause inexplicable and unrecorded, he is powerless at Rome to deliver the Church and her sanctuaries

singularly frequent and intimate, may have received his sanction of accepting, on his behalf, a territory which of right belonged to his liege lord, the emperor at Constantinople. But, as the emperor's iconoclastic heresy absolved the pope from allegiance to him, so, by parity of reasoning, it seems to have deprived him of his vested territorial rights; and he saw, therefore, no reason for refusing the generosity of Pepin and possessing himself of the splendid donation, which, while it crippled and humbled the hateful Lombard, raised him to the dignity of a temporal sovereign. The service of Zacharias and the ceremonial at St. Denis were thus speedily and magnificently rewarded; there is little doubt that the deep workings of conscience and superstitious awe were important factors in the donation, but the pope was nevertheless the beneficiary.

Astolf did not long survive his misfortune; he was accidentally killed on a hunt, doubtless, if the clerical writers of the day are to be credited, in punishment of his sins, and, in the opinion of Stephen, met his reward in the nether abyss of the infernal regions.¹ Rachis, the monk, and brother of the late king, and Desiderius, his constable, claimed the succession. The pope opposed that of Rachis on ecclesiastical grounds, and, for a valuable consideration, supported Desiderius, who ascended the throne with the express approbation of Pepin and the Franks.²

The fame of Pepin spread throughout the world, and even the emperor Constantine Copronymus sent an embassy to him with presents, including an organ, the first ever seen in Francia.

He now devoted himself to necessary legislation, the establishment and consolidation of his large empire, and the

from the oppressive and sacrilegious presence of the Lombards. The pope, by a strange and incomprehensible want of faith, seems, upon the whole, to prefer the earthly arms of the Franks to the spiritual weapons of St. Peter.

¹ "Divino ictu percussus est et in

infernæ voraginem demersus." Epist. ad Pippin. VI.

² Fredeg. cont. c. 122., cf. Vita Steph. c. 49. Paul. Diac. MG. SS. Langob., 217. Thus Faenza, Imola, and other castles, together with the Duchy of Ferrara, passed under the jurisdiction of Stephen.

pacification of outlying and populous provinces, impatient of subordination.

Among these Bavaria claimed his first attention. The attitude of its duke, Tassilo, his nephew and vassal, was defiant and haughty. Summoned to the Diet of Compiègne, he was required and compelled to take the customary oath of vassalage, and in further confirmation thereof, renew it on the tombs of St. Denis, St. Martin, and St. Germain; in the same way the oath of fidelity was administered to the nobles in his train.

But Tassilo, in spite of this solemn swearing, persisted in his refractory mood, and not many years after,¹ on pretence of sickness, left Pepin's army at a critical time, declaring again on oath that he would be independent, and never thereafter obey the royal mandate. He kept this oath, entered into close alliance with the Lombards by marrying a daughter of Desiderius, and lived to repent his course.

The Saxons kept Pepin busy in the north, while the Moslems in the south, together with Waifre, the rebellious duke of Aquitaine, taxed all his energies. Waifre, like Astolf, Tassilo, and other crowned heads of that and the next generation, had the habit of swearing in the most reckless manner, and forgetting the obligations of his oaths after they had been taken.

The Aquitanian revolt lasted nine years; campaign succeeded campaign, until Pepin succeeded in chastising the province into loyalty and compelled the unfortunate Waifre to roam the forest in quest of an asylum from his revenge. Even there he could not escape his doom. Four scaræ of Frankish troopers tracked his steps, surrounded the woods of Edobola, his hiding-place, and hunted him down. He was assassinated by his own subjects, but by the king's command.²

The conquest of Septimania and the final expulsion of the Moslems belong to an earlier period, and might have been long delayed but for a secret understanding between the generals of Pepin and the Christian Goths of Narbonne, who,

¹ In 763, on the march to Aquitaine.

² Fredegar. cont. c. 135; Annal. Lauriss.

tired of Arab oppression and the hardships of war, opened the gates of the city which then passed definitely under Frankish rule.

The inhabitants were guaranteed the "free enjoyment of their Gothic and Roman law and of their local institutions. It even appears that in the province of Spain bordering on Septimania an Arab chief, called Solimary, who was in command at Gerona and Barcelona, between the Ebro and the Pyrenees, submitted to Pepin himself and the country under him. This was an important event, indeed, in the reign of Pepin, for here was the point at which Islamism, but lately aggressive and victorious in southern Europe, began to feel definitely beaten, and to recoil before Christianity."¹

Pepin, at the close of his last Aquitanian expedition, elated with the final subjugation of the refractory province, returned to Saintes, making a prolonged stay for the promotion of salutary legislation.² In the midst of his labors he fell sick; but ill as he was, and prompted by the superstitious belief of his age, hastened to Tours, and earnestly prayed on the tomb of St. Martin for his recovery. But the saint at Tours was as deaf to his entreaties as St. Denis, to whose monastery he then proceeded. His wife and his sons, Charles and Carloman, were with him. Convinced that his sickness was incurable—he had the dropsy—he provided for the transmission of his empire to other hands. He summoned all the notables of the realm, the dukes and counts of the Franks, together with the bishops and clergy, to his presence, and directed, with their consent, that his two sons, Charles and Carloman, should divide between them the whole of his dominions, in such wise that the kingdom of Charles, the elder, should embrace Austrasia and Neustria, and that of Carloman, the younger, consist of Burgundy, the Provence, Gothia (Septimania), Alsatia and Alemannia; the duchy of Aquitaine, which he had so recently conquered, he divided between them.³

The biographer of Charles states that the Franks, in a

¹ Guizot, *I. c. t. I.*, c. 9.

² Fredegar. cont. c. 136. *Annal.*

³ Capitul. Aquit. MG. Leges, II., 13. Mett.

general assembly of the people, made them both kings on condition that they should divide the kingdom equally between them, Charles to take and rule the part that had belonged to their father, Pepin, and Carloman the part which their uncle, Carloman, had governed.¹ This is true in so far as the last clause is concerned; the earlier requires to be modified by the particulars before indicated, which doubtless imply Pepin's designation of his sons as his successors, and the solemn ratification of his will by the free choice of the estates of the realm. This, though in conformity with ancient law, was in the present case a mere formality, for the Franks were bound by the solemn oath which Stephen administered to them at the time of Pepin's consecration, thenceforth to choose their kings only of the race of Charles Martel.²

We may complain of want of clearness as to the line of division, and hesitate to take sides in this obscure and knotty question, but can hardly err concerning the principle on which it was made. That was the preservation of the unity of the Frankish empire, and in the division Pepin accordingly avoided the separation of nationalities, as fatal to the maintenance of such unity.

He gave to each of the brothers a kingdom containing a mixed population of Germans and Romans; the former predominating in the kingdom of Charles, the latter in that of Carloman, anticipating the necessary and salutary result that the kings should observe a just regard to the national peculiarities of their subjects, and the people of the one kingdom cherish fraternal feelings for those of the other.³

Soon after Pepin died and was buried [Sept. 24, 768] in the basilica of St. Denis the Martyr.⁴

¹ Einhardi Vita Caroli, c. 3.

² "J'y vois deux choses en quelque façon contraires: qu'il fit le partage du consentement des grands; et ensuite, qu'il le fit par un droit paternel. Cela prouve ce que j'ai dit, que le droit du peuple dans cette race étoit d'élire dans la famille; c'étoit à proprement parler, plutôt un droit d'exclure, qu'un droit d'élire." Montes-

quieu, *Esprit des Loix*, l. XXI. ch.

³ —cf. Canisius, *Lect. antiquæ* t. II. *Annal.* Mett., and Einhardi s. a. 768; Claus. de Pippini Elect.

⁴ Waitz, *D. V. G.*, III., 96; 2d ed.; Abel-Simson, *I. c. I.*, 29; 2d ed.

⁵ The date of his death is mentioned in *Annal. Lauriss.*, Mett., S. Amandi, Guelf., etc. For variations see Böhmmer, *Regesta*: s. a. 768.

CHAPTER III.

CIVILIZATION.

Extent of Francia.—Nationalities.—General immorality.—The Clergy.—Superstition.—Royalty.—Oaths.—Relics.—Ordeals.—*Weregeld*.—Political division: *hof*, *weiler*, *markung*, *gau*.—Domestic architecture.—Agriculture.—Slavery.—Domanial lands.—The Judiciary.—Military service.

ACCORDING to the biographer of Charles, the kingdom of Pepin was confined "to that part of Gaul included between the Rhine and the Loire, the Ocean and the Balearic Sea; to that part of Germany which is inhabited by the so-called Eastern Franks, and bounded by Saxony and the Danube, the Rhine and the Saale—the stream which separates the Thuringians from the Sorabians; and to the country of the Alemannians and Bavarians."¹

Many of these nations were of Germanic origin, and their names were thought to express characteristics of their race; thus the Franks claimed that they were born *frank*, that is, free; the Alemannians proudly asserted their manhood, saying that they were *all men*; the Saxons, divided into Eastphalians, Westphalians, and Angrians, derived their name, in the opinion of some, from the immemorial usage of their race of carrying a distinctive knife, the formidable *sachs* or *sax*, and in that of others from their inalienable right to the land they occupied, of which they were the *sassen*, that is, on which they sat, or were firmly established.

The same civilization, or, more accurately, the want of it, was common to all the nations, directly or indirectly connected with the Franks. Vasconian, Aquitanian, Burgundian, Frank, Saxon, Lombard, Roman, and all the rest, were involved in the same moral, intellectual, and social

¹ Einhardi Vita Caroli, c. 15.

degradation. The culture, splendor, and glory of ancient Rome had departed, and only its vices remained. The ancient pagan superstitions were blended with the religion of the age, which, with a few illustrious exceptions, failed to improve even the highest classes.

Kings, princes, and even the higher clergy flagrantly violated every commandment of the decalogue. The testimony of Boniface is terrible.

He says in one of his letters to Pope Zacharias, "that for sixty or seventy years past religion had vanished; that for eighty years the Franks had had neither a synod nor an archbishop; that most of the bishoprics were held by greedy laics, or adulterous, worldly-minded ecclesiastics; that most of their deacons had lived from their youth up in fornication and uncleanness, and kept even in the diaconate four or five, and even more concubines; that in spite of this they stood up in public to read the Gospel, and ultimately became bishops; that some of the bishops, though alleging their chastity, were addicted to drunkenness, injustice, and hunting, or went to go armed to battle, and indiscriminately, with their own hands, shed the blood of Christians and pagans."²

Priests sometimes celebrated mass "gorged with food and dull with wine."² The case of Gewillieb, Bishop of Mayence, is remarkable.

His father Gerold was slain in battle in an engagement with the Saxons. Gewillieb, though a man of good report, but uneducated, and a notorious lover of dogs and hawks, was appointed his successor. In the next campaign he inquired for the Saxon who had slain his father, and having learned his name, invited him to a friendly interview, and treacherously stabbed him in the Weser. This case was considered by a synod, and, at the instance of Boniface, he was deposed.³

The synods forbade the clergy, on pain of deposition, to engage in war or the chase; to practise witchcraft and

² Labb. Concil. VI., 1494; Ep. 49 ad Zachar.

³ Neander, Church History, V., 90 sq.

² Pitra, Vie de St. Léger, p. 172 sqq.

soothsaying; the use of amulets and chrism as a remedy for diseases.¹

The ignorance of the clergy was appalling; some could not read;² it was necessary to forbid the ordination of priests unable to recite the form of renunciation in baptism, and the confession of sins in the *vernacular*. Boniface charged Virgilius, an Irish priest, with the administration of baptism *in nomine patria et filia*. But this must be taken with a grain of allowance, for that priest was not a favorite with Boniface, who accused him, among other things, of holding the heretical notion "that under the earth existed another world, and other men." This is sometimes explained of the antipodes, but such an explanation is hardly in keeping with the intelligence of the eighth century. Virgilius, at any rate, must have satisfied the pope of his orthodoxy, for he was not only restored to the priesthood, but advanced to the episcopate, and ultimately exalted to canonization.

The degraded condition of the clergy is also apparent from the facility with which vagabonds passed themselves off with the ignorant and credulous multitude as priests. They shaved, donned the priestly garb, imitated the ceremonies of the Church, and made a good living as soothsayers.

A certain Desiderius went about in a cowl and a shirt of goats' hair, pretending to lead a strictly abstemious life, and enjoy frequent intercourse with the apostles Peter and Paul. Many sick people were brought to him to be healed. If the species of faith cure which he practised did not succeed, as in the case of lame people, he called in the aid of science, administered by muscular attendants, who pulled the hands or feet of the poor patients with great violence until the refractory limbs became straightened in life—or death.

Another man pretended to be Christ, and travelled about with a woman whom he introduced as the Virgin Mary. The people brought their sick that he might heal them by his touch. He also claimed to be a prophet, and deceived

¹ Neander, *Church History*, V., 77.

² Labbe, *l. c.* V., 1030.

more than three thousand people, among whom were some priests. Gregory of Tours, who records these things, describes what occurred in the sixth century, but his statements apply to the eighth, when so-called Christian ministers, in order to please the rude populace, mixed up pagan customs with Christian, and even sacrificed bulls and goats to the idol deities of the pagans.¹

In opposing such shocking enormities Boniface was taunted with the reply that they were followed at Rome, and wrote to the pope, asking if it could be true that such pagan usages as feasts at the kalends of January, phylacteries worn by women, enchantments and divinations were tolerated there?

His information was doubtless correct, and the admixture of pagan usage with Christian is expressly attested by an intelligent observer, who saw in Italy inscriptions in which the *dii manes* appear conjointly with the Holy Spirit.²

The condition of society under the Merovingians almost beggars description. There can be but one opinion on the subject. "The facts of these times are of little other importance than as they impress on the mind a thorough notion of the extreme wickedness of almost every person concerned in them, and consequently of the state to which society was reduced."³ It is a succession of atrocities, each more outrageous than the rest, which makes up the history of the period as unfolded in the heavy tomes of Fredegarius and Gregory.

One sickens to read the story of the bestial Canitius, a bishop, who had to be carried by four men from the table, and ordered one of his priests to be buried alive;⁴ of the revolting crimes of Brunhild and Fredegonda; of a prince delighting in the pastime of torturing slaves with fire;⁵ of deeds too foul to be spread on these pages, and of cruelties, such as the mutilation of persons doomed to undergo the

¹ Greg. Tur. IX., 6; X., 25; Neander, *l. c.* V., 73, 77.

² Mabillon, *Itiner. Ital.* p. 63.

³ Hallam, *Middle Ages*. Ch. I.

⁴ Greg. Tur. IV., 12.

⁵ Ibid. V., 3.

most dreadful tortures and find the consummation of their miseries in the flames, or on the wheel.

Among the least revolting are the court anecdotes of the period. Fredegonda and Rigontha, her daughter, had violent altercations in which they often came to blows. On one such occasion the daughter was in the act of taking something out of an open chest, when her angry mother violently flung the lid over her head, and would have strangled her but for the opportune intervention of some maid-servants who saved the unfortunate princess from the cruel hands of her infuriated mother.¹

This Rigontha was betrothed to the king of the Visigoths, and set out with a strong escort for her new Spanish home. The very first night fifty men of the escort deserted with a hundred of the best horses; such robberies and desertions were of daily occurrence, and upon the intelligence of the death of her father, Duke Desiderius, her chosen protector, stole what was left, and locked her up in Toulouse.²

Austragild, queen of King Gontram, lying on her death-bed, bound her husband to put to death her two physicians, because she believed that they had caused her own. Gontram kept the promise.³

This Gontram, in the naive language of Gregory, was an honest man, but so much given to perjury that he was sure to break the most sacred promise and betray the friend to whom he had pledged his oath.⁴ In the ethical code of Gregory, habitual perjury and shameless treachery were compatible with a general reputation for honesty.

Conjugal fidelity was almost unknown, and seldom observed by the kings, the princes, and the hierarchy of the Franks. A certain Eulalius, who took pains to reclaim his peccant wife from one with whom she had eloped, incurred for his weakness universal derision.⁵

It was customary to put kings under bond and oath that they would not repudiate their wives.⁶ They gave the bond

¹ Greg. Tur. IX., 34.

² Ibid. VII., 9.

³ Ibid. V., 36.

⁴ Ibid. V., 14.

⁵ Aimoin. *De Gest. Franc.* III., 5.

⁶ Greg. Tur. III., 27.

and took the oath, but the royal word was often as worthless as the bond.

The Franks were proverbial for the number of their oaths, and the facility with which they broke them. With a view to increasing their sanctity, it became custom to administer them over the relics of saints, under the belief that their violation exposed the perjurer to the peculiar vengeance of God and the departed.

In cases of special importance, the common method of making a person swear with his hand on the relics was deemed insufficient; he was conducted to the tomb of a saint reputed for the miracles he wrought, and sometimes required to make the round of all the famous shrines and tombs throughout the realm, and at each renew the oath with terrible imprecations upon himself in the event of violation.¹ Although relics could not prevent perjury, such was the veneration in which they were held that they served to check it. This, among other reasons, explains their coveted possession.

The Bavarian and Alemannian codes discourage the frequency of oaths.² A criminal, convicted by three or four witnesses, was disqualified from testifying upon oath.

Trial by combat was allowed in doubtful cases, especially "where a crime not capable of notorious proof was charged, . . . and God, as they deemed, was the judge."³

In disputes touching land, the judge bade the litigants take some of the earth of the land in dispute, insert therein twigs of trees growing on it, place both in a sack, and hand it to him; the judge put his seal upon it and gave it to a trusted person for safe-keeping; the litigants, moreover, gave security for the combat.

At the time set for the trial, the symbolical sack was placed between the combatants, who were required to touch it with their swords, and call God to witness, in prayer, that victory might be given to him whose cause was just. The victor was awarded ownership of the disputed possession,

¹ Aimoin, *l. c.* IV., 14.

³ Hallam, *l. c.* II., 2.

² Leg. Bai. VIII., 16; Leg. Alem. XLII., 1.

and the vanquished combatant or his relatives were fined in the sum of twelve solidi.¹ Nobles fought on horseback, plebeians on foot, with the weapons belonging to their order. The Bavarians enjoined previous examination of the arms for preventing diabolical or magical fraud, and, if found free from such influences, their solemn consecration to the purpose in hand.²

Trial by combat was only one of not less than eight modes of *ordeal*, by which the judgment of God was ascertained, and a man expurgated of crimes imputed to him.

In that "of hot iron," a priest seized the iron with a pair of pincers from before the altar, and carried it to the fire, chanting the *Benedicite*; he sanctified the place with prayer, the fire with the Benediction, put the iron into the fire, sprinkled it with holy water, and said mass over it. Then, after a second sprinkling, he bade the accused take it up and carry it a distance of nine feet. His hand was sealed; after three days the seal was removed, and if the hand was unhurt, his innocence was established.

In the "ordeal of boiling water," the so-called *Kesselfang*, a stone was thrown, or by a rope let down, into a cauldron filled with hot water. The accused was required to thrust his hand into it up to the elbow and bring up the stone; if he did it, he was innocent; if he failed, he lost his hand.

In the "ordeal of cold water," the inculpated person was bound with a rope and let down into a vessel filled with water, or a ducking-pond; if he sank, he was innocent; if he rose, he was guilty.

The "ordeal of a cut of bread or cheese," also called "coursned bread," or "ordeal bread," was much simpler. The accused had to eat the slice, and was innocent if it agreed with him, but guilty if it choked him, stuck in his throat, or caused pallor or trepidation.³ There was also the

¹ Leg. Alem. lxxxiv.

² Heinecc. *Corp. Jur. Germ. Antiq.*, p. 329.

³ Compare the old sayings, "May this bread be my poison," "May this

bread be my last," and the French, "Que ce morceau de pain m'étrangle si que je dis; n'est vrai"—Giles Jacob, and Du Cange, s. v. "Coursned."

ordeal of "taking the sacrament," a custom which lingers in the phrase, "I will take the sacrament upon it."

In the "ordeal of the cross," the inculpated person stood in a cross, that is, with his arms extended for a certain time, at the end of which he would fall down in token of his guilt, but keep standing in attestation of his innocence.

The "ordeal of the lot" was practised with osier twigs, or the twigs of a fruit-tree.¹

The ancient usage of compurgation, in which the accused sustained his own oath by the oaths of his friends, called *consacramentales*, who pledged their knowledge, or, at least, belief, of his innocence, was also allowed among the Germanic nations. Their choice, however, was not always optional with the accused; they were sometimes appointed by the court or judge, and called *denominati*; they were generally twelve in number.

Attempting the life of a king or duke, and the introduction of an enemy into the country, were the leading capital crimes; but even these might be composed, the first by the payment of the legal fine, the latter by banishment, in the option of the sovereign.

The crimes of patricide, fratricide and incest were punished by confiscation of the property of the criminals, but all others might be settled by pecuniary composition.

Composition, or the payment of the *weregeld*, for every kind of offence, from abusive or injurious speech to homicide, was all but universal.

Every offence or crime had a fixed legal valuation, or taxation, called the *weregeld*, a compound in which *were* expressed the value, and *geld*, the money or compensation. Every limb and part of the body, every life, according to station, every theft, etc., every animal, had a fixed legal value.

The Salian law condemned the offender to pay to the relatives of the person slain, for an *antrustion* of the king, that is, a person under his immediate and personal protec-

¹ Compare Tacitus, *De M. Germ.* c. 10; Leges Ripuar. XXXI., 5; Lex Frisonum, 14, ii.

tion, six hundred solidi; for a free Frank, two hundred; for a free Roman or land-owner, one hundred; for a tributary Roman, forty-five. Under Burgundian law, however, murder was uniformly punished with death. The *weregeld* for a stolen horse was forty-five solidi, and that for a kidnapped villain or servant only thirty-five.¹

A curious illustration of the universality of the system is afforded by the following anecdote, showing the adroit use to which the clergy put it as an incentive to benefactions.

Salvianus, citing the words of the Vulgate, "Redeem thy sins by almsgiving,"² argues in this wise: "What is meant by redeeming a thing? I believe, to pay its value. Then value thy sins as nicely as thou art able. Ascertain how much thou owest for lying, cursing, and perjury, how much for sins of omission, how much for filthy speaking, how much for wicked desires, etc., etc. Then, if thou hast added all together, note carefully the precise and actual value of each and all. I do not ask thee to give to God all that thou hast, but only so much as thou really owest, provided that thou art able to make a true valuation of thine indebtedness."³

A similar notion was present to the mind of the infamous Fredegonda, as she was sending forth a band of miscreants to assassinate her brother-in-law. They were instructed to surprise him in his tent, and bidding them success in their unholy endeavor, she dismissed them saying: "If you return count upon my gratitude, and rest assured that I will greatly advance you and your children; but if you die in the attempt, depend upon my distributing among the churches rich alms for the salvation of your souls."⁴

The ancient Germanic codes depict the people as chiefly occupied with war and the chase.

In the Thuringian law "a lance" and "a man" occur as synonymous terms; the Alemannian code punishes the theft of a hunting dog with a fine of twelve solidi, that of a horse with six, and that of a cow with only one solidus. Dogs

¹ Leg. Sal. XI., XLIII.; Burg. II.

² Dan. iv. 24.

³ Salv. Massil. opp. Paris, 1634.

⁴ Gesta Franc. Epit. XXXII., 712.

and hawks seem to be in universal use; and their distinctive names, still current, are mostly of Germanic origin. The chase was followed not as a sport, but as a means of life. The forest was vast, game abundant, and a freeman might hunt on his own land to his heart's content.

The various branches of agricultural life are also duly recognized in the codes; thus we read of cabbage gardens, orchards, and even vineyards, and learn from the *weregeld* the relative estimate of human life as to occupation. Thus a swineherd or a shepherd ranks with a cook; a marshal set over twelve horses; a seneschal set over twelve men; and an armorer; the *weregeld* of any of these classes of men was forty solidi.

The Franks, and the Germans generally, did not favor city life; most of their cities, at this period, were of Roman origin. Farms and detached homesteads, well fenced in, and supplied with all the necessities of life, were found wherever the forest had been cleared.

But a large section of the country was still in a state of primeval wilderness. The great Buchonian forest stretched from the Werra to the Main, and north and south to an indefinite distance.

Through this wilderness the abbot Sturmi wandered in search of a site for a monastery. He found nowhere settled habitations, and rested at night wherever he might be when the sun was setting. With a sword, which he carried, he cut down branches of trees, formed them into a fence for the protection of his beast from wild animals, which abounded in great number, called upon the Lord in prayer, and signing his forehead with the sign of the cross in token of his resignation, lay down to sleep. The earth was his bed. On one occasion a troop of wild Slavonians, who had bathed in the river, met him naked as they were. They looked terrible and received him with insulting cries. Their interpreter asked him whither he was going, and he answered calmly: "Farther into the forest." The hand of God watched over him, and they let him pass unhurt. The place of their meeting struck him as suited to his purpose, and he

chose it as the site of his monastery. There he built on the Fulda the famous institution known by that name.¹

Such was the forest. In the open country, a farm with all its immediate dependencies, such as houses, barns, stables, etc., was called a *hof*, that is a yard, or an area "hedged in;" a *hof* with the land belonging to it was a *weiler*, that is a villa, or village; a number of such *weilers* constituted a *markung*, and several of these formed a *gau*, canton, or county.

The codes, likewise, contain references to houses, rooms, heated rooms, halls, barns, granaries, cellars, etc., which may describe an advance in civilization or indicate a lack of architectural skill, perhaps both, for it is singular that to this day a large number, one might say most, of the village houses in the south of Germany and elsewhere on the Continent are built on the primitive plan of affording, under the same roof, storage room for the produce of the field, apartments for the use of the family, and stable room for cattle.

Agriculture was an occupation inferior to the military life, and the laws distinctly name such occupations as driving a cart, mending a fence, cutting hay, reaping grain, etc., under the head of *servile* labor.²

The true explanation of this and other peculiarities is the existence of slavery among the Franks and the Germanic nations generally.

The prevailing usage of war deprived the captive, unable to provide his ransom, of his liberty; others lost it through debt or crime. Men were bought and sold, or stolen. Sometimes the state of servitude was assumed voluntarily and deliberately as an escape from military service or starvation. Sometimes "men surrendered themselves, as well as their properties, to churches and monasteries, in return for such benefits as they might reap by the prayers of their masters."³

¹ Neander, *Memor. of Christian Life*, Bohn's ed., p. 474.

² Leg. Baioar., VI., 2.

³ Hallam, *l. c.*, II., 2, citing Beaumanoir, c. 45.

Such slaves, or serfs, were employed either as menials or tillers of the soil; or they received a piece of land to work for their own use, but subject to certain "villein" service, and the return of part of the produce to their master.

"The third estate of men is that of such as are not free; and these are not all of one condition, for some are so subject to their lord that he may take all they have, alive or dead, and imprison them whenever he pleases, being accountable to none but God: while others are treated more gently, from whom the lord can take nothing but customary payments, though at their death all they have escheats to him."¹

The condition of a German serf was most abject and miserable, and under the law he was entirely at the mercy of his lord.

The lord was wont to reserve certain fields, meadows, vineyards, etc., called "domanial lands" which were worked solely by serfs; they were bound to give three days of the week, throughout the year, to their culture; at seed time, moreover, it was their duty to provide part of the seed for those lands, plough and sow them, and in the harvest give every other day for cutting and reaping the crops. If the serf had received cattle, the compulsory service laid upon him was still greater, and bounded only by his ability to render it.²

The domestics on a *hof* were often mechanics and artisans; for as there were only few towns, and as the free-born lord thought labor degrading, the unfortunate serfs were compelled to build the houses, and make the harness, shoes, and leather garments of their masters; the female serfs spun flax and wool, but that occupation was not degrading, and followed so universally by women of every class that the same code which calls the man "a lance" dubs the woman "a distaff" (*Kunkel*).

The Frankish kings were judges, and the administration of justice was regarded as the primary function of royalty.³

¹ Hallam, as before. Ducange, s.vv. *Villanus, Servus*, and Schmidt, *l. c.*, II., 260.

² Leg. Baioar., I., 14.

³ Marculf, l. I., form. 25.

Next to the king ranked the duke, whose office is expressly described as a judiciary dignity. Assessors or assistant judges appear in the presence of the king, the duke, and the count, who ranked next to the duke. Bishops and the highest secular officers assisted the king, *scabini* and *rachimburgii* the duke and the count.¹ There were likewise deputy officers, or "vicars." Petty cases were decided by hundreders, who were subordinated to the counts. The hundreder probably derived his name from the limitation of his jurisdiction, in times of peace, to a hundred men (or families) who in time of war constituted his command.²

The Court was mostly held in a field or on a hill, called *mallstatt*, or *mallberg*, that is, the place or hill where the *mall*, or Court, assembled, and the judge set up his shield of office, without which he might not hold Court. The Court was always open to the people; sometimes attendance of the people was compulsory. Extreme simplicity marked the procedure; cases relating to the church, widows, and orphans had the priority.

The laws were brief and pointed, the arguments oral. In Bavaria forgetful or over-reticent witnesses were quickened to intellectual activity by having their ears pulled.

It should be added that the terms "duke" and "count" were simply official designations, unconnected with the geographical and political division of the country.

The duke might have a larger judicial district than the count, but both filled similar positions, and directed the administration of justice, police, and the royal revenue.

It was their duty faithfully and firmly to dispense justice to the Franks, Romans, and Burgundians according to their several laws, defend the cause of the widow and orphan, punish crime, promote the public safety, and collect the royal dues.

These offices, in the early period of Frankish history, were held only for a limited term; in later times they were

¹ Guizot, *Essai sur l'Histoire de France*, pp. 259, 272. ³ Marculf, I., 8; Append. Fredegarii, c. 78.

² Marculf, I., 8. Schmidt, *l.c.*, II., 8.

granted for life, and among the Bavarians and Alemannians appear to have been hereditary.¹ The Bavarians were privileged to retain their ancient prerogative of choosing their dukes from the race of the Agilolfingians.²

Hereditary succession appears from a memorable custom of the Alemannians for adjudicating the case of a rebellious son, who during his father's life-time, and while that father was still able to promote the king's advantage (that is able to command an army and mount a horse), sought to secure the duchy by violence. The attempt was disallowed, but the son's right to succession seems implied, not only upon the father's natural demise, but also in the event of his political death, which occurred when he became physically unfit to carry arms and mount a horse.³

This ancient notion prevailed as late as the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries among the Saxons and Suabians. The Saxon code enacts:

"A man may, without the consent of the heirs, freely dispose of his personal belongings and landed estate . . . so long as he is able, having a sword girded to his side, and carrying a shield, to mount a horse from a stone or stand, an ell high, without other assistance than that of some one holding the horse and stirrup. If he cannot do this, he may not dispose of such belongings, etc., to the detriment of those looking to their possession after his death."⁴

The Franks had no standing army, but all nobles and freemen, both among the Franks proper and the nations confederated with them, were bound to military service.

"Two classes of persons were bound to military service; the *leudes*, both vassals and after-vassals, in virtue of their fiefs; and the free Franks, Romans, and Gauls serving under the count, and led by him and his officers.

"Freemen were such as, on the one hand, held no benefice or fief, and on the other, were not liable to the servitude of the glebe; their lands were called allodial lands.

¹ Leg. Alem. XXX., 5; Baiaor. II., 10.

³ Schmidt, *l.c.* II., 266.

⁴ Leg. Sax. I., 52.

² Leg. Baiaor. II., 20.

"The counts assembled the freemen and led them to war; they had subordinate officers whom they called 'vicars,' and as all freemen were divided into hundreds, constituting a borough (*bourg*), the counts were set over yet another class of officers, called 'centenaries' (hundreders), who led the free men of the borough, or their hundreds, to war."¹

Similar regulations were established throughout Germany; obligation to military service was inseparable from all lands held under Frankish rule; nor were church-lands exempt from it. The rigorous provisions of the military laws set forth in the reign of Charles, which are noted in other portions of this volume, existed for the most part in Merovingian times.

We conclude this sketch with a reference to the curious law prohibiting freemen to enter the church without the sovereign's permission. The reason, however, is sufficiently clear, for as all freemen were bound to military service, while ecclesiastics and monks were exempt from it, it follows that the State lost an able soldier in every instance.

The Church approved of the principle of this law and the Council of Orleans passed a canon to that effect.²

This law also was re-enacted by Charles, and explains that some entered the Church not from motives of piety, but for the purpose of escaping from military service and other public obligations, and others did so under the advice of designing men coveting their possessions.³

¹ Montesquieu, *Esprit des Lois*, t. IV., l. xxx. c. 17.

² Can. VI.

³ Capit. II., a. 805.

BOOK II.

ROYAL PERIOD,

A.D., 768—A.D., 800.

BOOK II.

ROYAL PERIOD., A.D., 768—A.D., 800.

CHAPTER I.

CHARLES AND CARLOMAN.

Birth, childhood, and youth of Charles.—Dissensions between the brothers.—Revolt in Aquitaine.—Matrimony.—Pope Stephen indignant.—Desiderata.—Hildegard.—Death of Carloman.—Charles usurps his kingdom.—Flight of Gerberga and her children.—Charles at thirty.

It is surprising, perplexing, and vexatious that next to nothing is known of the birth and infancy, and even the boyhood of Charles. His biographer, Eginhard, or more correctly Einhard, deemed it unwise to commit himself to any statement, "for nothing," he says, "has ever been written on the subject, and there is no one alive now who can give information of it. Accordingly I have determined to pass that by as unknown."¹

The 2d of April is accepted as his birthday, and the **A.D. 742.**] best authorities consider the year 742 as that of his nativity. Quite a number of localities contend for the honor of being his birth-place. Ingelheim, near Mayence, Aix-la-Chapelle, Carlsburg near Munich, Carlstadt in Franconia, Liège in Belgium, and even a Villa in Aquitaine, have their advocates. One of the older writers, who claims Ingelheim, adds the doubtless erroneous notice that his mother Berthrada, or Bertha, was a Hungarian, and one of the most recent writers, who stands up for the Aquitanian Villa, con-

¹ See note 2, p. 40.

jectures that the lady was either a Hungarian or a Greek. As a matter of fact it may suffice to say that she was a Frankish lady, a daughter of Charibert, Count of Laon, and that Pope Stephen, in a letter addressed to Charles and Carloman, distinctly affirms that their father Pepin did not marry a lady belonging to another kingdom, or a foreign nation. Accepting his testimony as the best offered,¹ it is proper to add that Pepin had three sons and four daughters.²

It has been stated that the birth of Charles almost coincides with the death of his grandfather, Charles Martel, and the commencement of his father's reign. The former died October 22, 741, and the latter immediately succeeded to his inheritance. The record of his long reign contains only very few references to Charles and his brother Carloman, but it is safe to say that their education was rather physical and martial than scholastic and literary.

The first mention of Charles occurs in connection with the visit of Pope Stephen. He was then in his twelfth year, and travelled at the head of a military cavalcade a distance of a hundred miles to welcome and accompany the pope to Ponthion. On the consecration of Pepin in the basilica of St. Denis, both he and Carloman received unction at the hands of Stephen. His name is found in several documents; he accompanied his father on two of the Aquitanian campaigns, repaired to him in his last sickness, was present at the solemn act of "partition," and appeared among the mourners at his father's funeral.

Such are the meagre details of more than the first third of the life of the great Charles which the most diligent research has yielded. One might add the incidental particular found in a diploma belonging to the last years of his reign, that Pepin and Bertrada spent the earliest days of their married life on the estate of Vargahala on the Unstrut, if the diploma were genuine.³

¹ "Sed nec genitor vester ex alio regno vel extranea natione conjugem accepit"

² See their names in Genealogical Table.

³ See Mühlbacher, *l. c.*, No. 356.

An anecdote, rather legendary than historical, narrates the presence of Charles at the Translation of the relics of St. Germanus from the lateral chapel of St. Symphorian to the chancel of the conventual Church of the Holy Cross and of St. Vincentius.

The grand dignitaries of Church and State were in attendance, as well as Pepin and his two royal sons. The solemnity of the ceremonial, and the wonderful circumstances in its train, deeply affected and interested the youthful Charles. Pepin himself prepared to assist in the removal of the coffin, which could not be lifted. All attempts to raise it proved futile. This strange circumstance amazed and alarmed the company; they agreed that the saint was angry, but what was the cause of his displeasure?

A discerning person intimated to the king that the officers of the neighboring royal domain of Palatiolum were in the habit of violent encroachments on the possessions of the monastery, and conjectured that the saint's refusal to have his relics removed imported his desire to secure the possession of the said domain. Pepin thereupon donated Palatiolum to the saint. The effect was striking; the coffin became as light as a feather, and amid hymns of praise sung by the ecclesiastics and the jubilant rejoicing of the people, was carried to its destination. Nor did the miracle stop there; for the coffin, untouched by the carriers, descended into the vault, from which arose most fragrant perfume which pervaded the whole church.

All present were filled with amazement, and Charles, in the enthusiasm of juvenile rejoicing, leaped into it, and lost his first tooth.

The monk who records the Translation affirms that Charles himself was his informant.¹

Oct. 9, 768] On the sixteenth day after the death of Pepin the two brothers, having repaired to the designated points, were solemnly and conformably to ancient usage

¹ Mabillon, III., 2. 104-118; Acta 501; Waitz, MG. SS. XV., 5-9; Abel-SS. Mai 6, 788-796.—Wattenbach, *l. c.* Simson, *l. c.*, I., 18 sqq. I., 140, note 1; Oelsner, *Pippin.*, p.

elevated and enthroned kings of the Franks, and anointed with holy oil. In the case of Charles the ceremony took place at Noyon, and in that of Carloman at Soissons.¹

Both localities were in Neustria, but it is impossible to determine the political status of the two kingdoms. It is certain that both brothers exerted some sovereign rights in each other's dominions, and that, while *e. g.* the regnal years of Charles are mentioned in private documents drawn up in Neustria, Carloman is described as king in Austrasia, and sometimes resided there.²

Carloman believed himself wronged in the division, which is now, though not universally, accepted to have followed the line indicated in a former paragraph. It is unnecessary to discuss the matter, and open the question of the causes of the undoubted ill-feeling between the two brothers, which was of long standing, and seemingly incurable.³ It broke out almost immediately upon the occasion of a fresh revolt in Aquitaine, in which both were equally interested.

769] The aged Hunold, who doubtless had grown tired of the monastic life, deeming the death of his son Waifre, so speedily followed by that of his enemy, and the consequent change of rulers, an opportune juncture for revolt, left the solitude of the island of Rhé, collected an army, and proclaimed the independence of Aquitaine.

¹ Fredegar. cont. c. 137. Annal. Mett., Lauriss., Einh. The first epoch of the reign of Charles extends from 768-774, during which he bore the title: "*Carolus gratia dei rex Francorum vir inluster.*"

² See instances in Abel-Simson, *l. c.* I., 27 sq.

³ By far the most interesting document bearing on the subject is Cathwulf's epistle to Charles the Great, in which he enumerates the peculiar felicities for which in his opinion the king had reason to be grateful. The first is, that in answer to the special prayers of his parents, especially of his mother,

he had been born and, as the firstborn, sanctified to God; that God had protected him from the craft of his brother (*ut de Jacob et Esau legitur*); that he obtained his kingdom simultaneously with his brother; and that God mercifully removed that brother and exalted him to the throne without effusion of blood (*Quinta: non minimum est beatitudinis signum, quod Deus transtulit illum de regno Francorum et exaltavit te super omne hoc regnum sine sanguinis effusione*).—Ep. Carol. Jaffé, Monum. Carol., p. 336.

Charles forthwith summoned his *heerbann* and marched into Aquitaine; Carloman also set out for the seat of war, and came up with Charles at a place called Duasdivas. The meeting was most unpleasant, and as the brothers were unable to agree, and Carloman distinctly refused to take part in the suppression of the revolt, Charles acted alone, while Carloman, with his command, returned home.¹ Hunold, driven from place to place, found no rest for the sole of his foot until he had crossed the Garonne and sought the hospitality and protection of his nephew Lupus, duke of Vasconia. Aquitaine yielded instant submission to Charles, who came as a master, and took effectual measures for the prevention of further troubles. He collected a large force at Angoulême, well equipped for any emergency, marched to the Dordogne, built the fortress of Fronsac, and having erected this standing menace to the duke of Vasconia, despatched an embassy to him, with the demand of the instant surrender of the renegade fugitive Hunold, who had not only returned to the world but to his wife. Refusal was to be a *casus belli*, and a Frankish army, which for the better enforcement of his demand took position on the left bank of the Garonne, convinced the duke of Vasconia that the menace was not an empty sound. If he was not glad, he was certainly not displeased, to respect the summons; for he could never forget what the fugitive had done to his father more than a quarter of a century before. As long as he remained in the monastery, he might think that he had expiated his guilt in a life of penitent sorrow, but when he returned to the world, how could he fail to shrink from sheltering the cruel hand which had put out his father's eyes?

The outraged feelings of the son were stronger than the sympathy of the nephew; he saw a Nemesis in the demand which justice and interest compelled him to respect, and accordingly gave up Hunold and his wife. But there his compliance ended, for the further notices that he im-

¹ This is now accepted. See Böhm, *Regesta*, p. 52; and Abel, 34. address before the Academy of Sciences at Berlin, Aug. 3, 1854, who takes opposite ground.

plicitly promised obedience in whatever Charles required, and submitted himself with the province which he ruled, are justly rejected as historical embellishment.¹

The fate of Hunold is not known; perhaps he died in a monastery; at any rate the story of his flight, first to Rome, and then to Pavia, where he was stoned to death, savors of invention.²

As for Carloman, his defection, which to Charles appeared in the light of the unpardonable and capital crime of *heris-liz*, or desertion in presence of the foe, led to more intimate relations with Tassilo, duke of Bavaria, and Desiderius, king of the Lombards; thus the tension increased, and threatened to lead to civil war. Fortunately that calamity was prevented by the queen-mother Bertrada, who [770] brought about a reconciliation, in consequence of which the two brothers sent a special embassy to the pope announcing their reconciliation.

It was joyful news to Stephen, as appears from the exuberant phrase of a very long letter of congratulation which he sent in return.³ He was doubtless sincere in the expression of his joy over an event in which he saw, if not the grateful harbinger of Frankish interposition, at least an intimation that it baffled the expectations of the perfidious Lombard, for he felt sure that in the event of war between the two brothers, he would have set his iron heel upon the bleeding Church, still suffering from his unrighteous spoliation of the patrimony of St. Peter. The congratulation, like all his communications, wound up with a vehement adjuration of the kings to interpose and compel the robber to restore his unrighteous gains.

In this he was doomed to be disappointed, and in a most unexpected way. The political situation had doubtless been freely discussed by the queen-mother and her sons, and occasioned a diplomatic journey, in the course of which

¹ This is the view of Ranke (l. c.) and Böhmer, *Regesta*. The best account is that of Ann. Lauriss.

² Anastas. apud Bouquet, V., 434; cf. 376, 444.

³ Epist. ad Carol. et Carlom.—Migne, t. 98, p. 250.

she visited successively the courts of Bavaria, and Lombardy, and the pope at Rome.

Tassilo was the son of Odilo, duke of Bavaria, and Hiltrud, sister of Pepin, and consequently first cousin of Charles and Carloman. Impatient of dependence on the king of the Franks, he left him at a juncture of great importance and under circumstances which were unforgotten and unforgiven. Since that defection in the Aquitanian war he acted with entire independence, more like a sovereign than a vassal. He dropped the king's regnal years, and substituted those of his own reign in official documents; he assumed the style and conduct of an independent prince not only in the internal government of his duchy, but in his relations to other countries; he held, contrary to the usage of the Frankish empire, synods and enacted laws which are still incorporated with those of the Bavarian Code; he made war with the Slavonians, and entered into close political alliance with the Lombards.

An ecclesiastic in the person of the abbot Sturmi had preceded her in Bavaria, and established friendly relations between Charles and Tassilo. Tassilo was the son-in-law of Desiderius, and now on good terms with the two Frankish kings. A visit to him occurred to her as a fit preliminary to her plans which looked to intermarriages with the Lombard family.¹ Her intercourse with the ducal family promoted a cordial understanding in Germany, and her plans at Pavia, where arrangements were set on foot in virtue of which the son of Desiderius was affianced to her daughter Gisla, the sister of Charles and Carloman, and one or both of these proposed as husbands of the daughters of the king of the Lombards.² The matter was kept a profound secret,

¹ Annal. Einh., Vita Sturmi c. 22. MG. SS. II., p. 376.—Annal. Mosell., Chron. Moiss., cf. Annal. Maxim., Petav., Naz., Fuld.

² The evidence on this point is conflicting, and the names are confusing. The wife of Charles is called Desiderata, Berterad, and Gerberga; the

wife of Carloman also is called Gerberga.

"Complures ergo filias habuit Desiderius, *unam* quæ Carolus M. nupsit, *alteram* quæ Carolomanno, *tertiam* quæ Thassiloni juncta erat, *quartam*, denique, Adelpergam, quam in matrimonio habuit Arichis, Bene-

and the diplomatic Berthrada, to whose influence is ascribed the restoration of certain Italian cities to St. Peter, had the tact of concealing it from the pope, who may have explained her presence in Italy on the grounds of religious fervor and of veneration of his person.

Still the truth became known after she left, and it fairly stunned him. It was the worst news he ever received, and seemed too horrid to be true. Such an intermarriage, he thought, would give the death-blow to the nascent power of the papacy, sweep away the patrimony of St. Peter, and make the hated Lombard virtually ruler of all Italy.

The royal brothers he knew were married and had children; on that point his language is explicit, and flatly contradicts the common notion that their wives were not legitimate, or only morganatically united to the kings. He says that by the express direction of their father they had been married in lawful wedlock, and brands as iniquitous the hidden purpose of their hearts of taking other wives besides those they had already married.¹³⁶ The pertinent portions of his epistle to them are essential to a correct understanding of the case; it might have been more temperate and dignified, more Christian and less venomous, but it mirrors the deep unquenchable hatred of the Lombards which burned in the pontiff's breast.

venti Princeps." — Chronic. Cassinens. l. I., c. xvii.

"Et primus quidem, Carolomanus, Pontifice vel dissimulante vel interpositum anathema palam tollente, Gerbergam Desiderii filiam uxorem duxit, primo sui regni anno, ex eaque morte geminæ prolis factus est pater." — Acta Sanct. de B. Hildgard. Reg. April 30.

"Karolomannus . . . defunctus est Salmontiaci: uxor ejus cum duobus filiis et Otgario marchione ad Desiderium regem patrem suum confugit." — Annales Lobiens. ad a. 771. apud Pertz, t. ii., p. 195.

It is doubtless on the ground of

these passages that Muratori, *Annali d'Italia*, a. 770, states that two of the daughters of Desiderius were given in marriage to Charles and Carloman.

But compare *Andreae Bergomatis Histor. 3. Mon. Germ. Hist. (Script. Rer. Langob. & Italic.)*, p. 223 with the note, the references, and indexes there, in Pertz, and Bouquet.

¹ "Etenim . . . conjugio legitimo ex præceptione genitoris vestri copulati estis, accipientes . . ."
—"Impium enim est ut vel penitus vestris ascendat cordibus, alias accipere uxores super eas, quas primitus vos certum est accepisse."

The epistle is addressed to Charles and Carloman, and couched in these terms: "He had heard that Desiderius had persuaded one of their number to marry his daughter; the devil alone could have suggested such intention, for since it could not be a marriage it must be a most shameful connection. It was madness to attempt a union of the most noble race of the Franks and the fetid brood of the Lombards, a brood hardly human, that had brought leprosy into the land. . . . They should remember, that by their father's express injunction they were united in marriage to most beautiful Frankish ladies, to whom they ought to cleave in love; that it was unbecoming and unlawful in them to repudiate their wives for strangers of another race; it would be sinful and heathenish. . . . They should remember that the vicegerent of St. Peter had anointed them and sanctified them with the blessing of heaven; . . . that their father had been prevented by the remonstrances of his predecessor from divorcing their mother; remember, moreover, their father's promise to St. Peter to be the friend of his friends, and the enemy of his enemies; he had kept his promise, and how could they . . . dare to make common cause against the apostolical see with the perfidious race of the Lombards? . . . Wherefore, St. Peter, himself, he, the pope, the clergy and people of Rome, adjure them by all that is lawful, by the living and true God, the judge of the quick and dead, by the ineffable omnipotence divine, by the tremendous day of judgment, by all the divine mysteries, and by the most sacred body of St. Peter, that neither of them presume to wed the daughter of Desiderius, or give their God-beloved sister Gisla in wedlock to his son. . . ."

"He had laid this his exhortation and adjuration on the tomb of the apostles, presented it in sacrifice to God, and from that sacred spot did now send it to them.

"Should either of them, contrary to his expectation, presume to disregard it, then by the authority of St. Peter he is under the ban of the most fearful anathema, an alien from the kingdom of God, and doomed, with the devil

and his most wicked ministers, and all impious men, to undergo concrementation in eternal flames. But he who shall obey and observe this exhortation shall be worthy of divine enlightenment with all heavenly blessings, and of exaltation to everlasting glory with all the saints and elect of God."¹

The epistle came too late to deter Charles from his purpose, **770**] for he was married to Desiderata; but it bore immediate fruit in the annulment of the projected marriage of Gisla and Adelchis. The royal maiden took irrevocable vows and became abbess of the convent of Chelles. There the matter rested, but not long, for [after the lapse of only **771**] one year Charles disowned Desiderata and sent her back to Pavia.²

The reticent and diplomatic biographer of Charles says that he repudiated her "for some reason unknown;"² the more communicative Monk of St. Gall suggests a physical reason. The anathema of the pope and his subsequent representations of the impolicy of a Lombard alliance may have carried some weight, but it is more probable that the sight of one more favored was the most potent motive in this heartless, insulting, and perfidious act. There is no doubt that Desiderius received the customary guarantee given under oath that Charles would never discard his daughter.³

Her repudiation was immediately followed by the marriage of Charles with Hildegard, a Suabian lady of noble birth.⁴

The pope maintained a discreet silence, but the indignation of Desiderius was intense; the queen-mother, whose tearful intervention was disregarded, always felt sore on the subject;⁵ and there was at least one man, the venerable

¹ Codex Carol. Ep. 45 (Jaffé).

² Einhard, *Vita*, c. 18.

³ Pasch. Radbert in *Vita Adalh.*—Mabillon, "Acta SS. Ord. S. Ben." S. IV., I., 310. The exact date of the repudiation is not known. It is certain that Charles married Hildegard immediately after, for as she died April

30, 783, in the twelfth year of her marriage, it follows that either the close of 771 or the beginning of 772 furnishes the required date. *See 771 B.*

⁴ See "Genealogical Table."

⁵ "Charles's mother, Bertrada, passed her old age with him in great honor; he entertained the greatest

abbot of Corbie, Adalhard, the king's cousin-german, who on high moral and religious grounds refused all intercourse with the unlawful successor of the discarded queen.¹

Hildegard was reputed to be one of the most attractive women of the age. Her peerless beauty is poetically described as that of lilies blended with roses, and it is said that she added to the charms of her person the shining attributes of a bright intellect and a kind heart. She was benevolent and devout, and universally beloved by all who knew her.

Her influence over Charles was excellent, and confessedly great, although she could not always carry her point.²

An anecdote told by the Monk of St. Gall appears to be true to life. A certain young man, in whom the king took an interest, and whose hopes he had raised as to securing a vacant bishopric, happened to be with him at an hour set for the reception of courtiers. The king told him that he had many competitors for the vacancy, and bade him retire behind a curtain to learn their number. One by one the nobles came to secure the position either for themselves or for special favorites; at last Queen Hildegard appeared and asked it for her own clerk. The king objected, protesting that, although he would not and could not say nay to her in almost anything she might ask, yet in this case he must needs disoblige her, for he had already promised the place to the aforesaid young man. The queen, who was not free from the weakness of women of setting their influence against the judgment of men, suppressed her anger, but forthwith opened upon her susceptible spouse the battery of dulcet speech and languid looks, saying: "O my Lord King, why waste that bishopric on such a boy? Let me entreat my sweetest king, my glory, my tower of strength, to confer it on your faithful servant, my own clerk."

The young man heard and saw from behind the curtain what was going on, dreaded the worst, and unable to con-

vention for her; and there was never any disagreement between them, except when he divorced the daughter of King Desiderius, whom he had

married to please her."—Einhard, *Life*, XVIII. See Genealogical Table.

¹ See note 2. He distinctly says that no crime could be laid to her charge.

tain himself, exclaimed: "Keep firm, O King; and let no one deprive you of the power which God has given you!" The speech pleased Charles, so for the nonce he disobliterated the charmer and made the young man bishop.¹

The repudiation of Desiderata was resented not only in Lombardy, but much nearer home; it added fuel to the hatred which slumbered in the breast of Tassilo, duke of Bavaria, who was married to one of her sisters, and revived or intensified the hostility of Carloman, whom respectable authority represents as the husband of another. At any rate both those princes were in open sympathy with Desiderius, and in the event of war would have sided with him against Charles.²

[771] Probable war between the two brothers was averted by the opportune death³ of Carloman at the critical moment. He died on the second nones of December in the Villa of Samoussy in the Ardennes. He had been in poor health, and the insinuation, sometimes made, that Charles was implicated in the event, is purely gratuitous, since it rests neither on truth nor a show of probability.⁴

The widow of Carloman, knowing Charles, and dreading the worst for her children and her personal safety, concluded to seek refuge at the court of Desiderius. This course was the most natural, if he was her father.⁵ At any rate, she went there, escorted by Otgar⁶ and other Frankish nobles more attached to the house of Carloman than to Charles.

The death of Carloman was expected, and Charles was

¹ Monach. Sangall. apud Bouquet, V., p. 108 B.

² A fabulous writer states, that Carloman was violently opposed to the marriage with Desiderata, and compelled Charles to disown her; that Berthrada, incensed at his course, cursed Carloman, who in consequence became blind, and died.—Andr. Bergam. hist. c. 3; SS. rer. Langob., p. 223 sq.

There is no evidence that the repudiation was the result of papal

remonstrance; even Ranke, *Weltgeschichte*, v. ii., p. 113, n. 1, shares this view.

³ See note 3, p. 74.

⁴ See Pilatus, *Geschichte des Deutschen Reichs und Italiens*, vol. ii.

⁵ See note 2, p. 77.

⁶ The variations "Ogger," "Otker," "Otgar," "Otger," "Autchar," etc., denote the same person. His fidelity to Carloman, his widow and children was his crime; he escorted them to Italy, and was delivered to Charles. On

near at hand for prompt and decisive action. He was at Longlier, a short distance from Corbeny, within the limits of his brother's kingdom. Immediately after the death of Carloman he proceeded, doubtless under a strong military escort, to Corbeny, accompanied by a number of the highest ecclesiastical and secular dignitaries, and announced to the feudatories of Carloman, who had been summoned to appear, his intention of possessing himself of the vacant throne. Resistance would have been useless; the farce of a formal election took place; the lieges of Carloman swore fealty to him; the bishops poured holy oil on his head, and thus "felicitously he obtained the monarchy of the kingdom of the Franks."¹

He heard the account of Gerberga's flight, according to one reading "with indifference;" "with displeasure,"² according to another; perhaps with both, for, being master of the situation, he may have known, as an old chronicle distinctly says he did, that it would not turn to her advantage or to that of the nobles who accompanied her, and felt that her "unnecessary journey"³ reflected upon him. Perhaps she

his return to France he renounced the world, and with Benedictus, his former companion in arms, entered the monastery of St. Faro apud Meldos (Meaux), in the basilica of which the two friends are interred. Their mausoleum was still extant in 1701, and disclosed, among other interesting particulars, the fact that Auda, the sister of Ogger, was betrothed to the famous Roland. See Mabillon, *Annal. Ord. Benedict.*, t. iii., p. 376.

¹ Annal. Lauriss., Mettenses; Fragment in "Forschungen," XVII., 628; Chron. Moiss., and S. Denis, a. 771. cf. Böhmer, *l. c.* p. 59, No. 139.

Some hold that the succession was decided in a lawful Diet, arguing that the two sons of Carloman, by reason of their tender age, were unfit to succeed; that their claim to the throne

was not established; that there was no fixed law regulating the succession, beyond the general principle of an equality of right enjoyed by all the members of the royal family; that the claims of Charles to the vacant throne were equal to those of the sons of Carloman *per se*, and superior to them on account of his years, to which came the vital political necessity of an immediate reunion of the separated members of the Frankish Empire. The argument is ingenious, but is it true?

Waitz, *l. c.* III., 100, 275 sq., 2d ed.—Abel-Simson, *l. c.* I., 102 sq.—cf. Wolf, *Kritische Beiträge*, p. 75, n. 5.

² *Patienter*, or *impatienter*.

³ *Profectionem . . . supervacuum*. Annal. Einh.

dreaded violence, more probably the scissors of obsequious barber-monks and the living tomb of a convent.

The sequel will show that her fears were not unfounded. It is useless to speculate on a state of things of which no authentic information may be had.¹ Most of the annals extant maintain total silence on the true merits of the jealousies and quarrels of the sons of Pepin, and of the usurpation of Carloman's kingdom by his powerful brother, now sole king of the Franks. The remembrance of the wrong accompanied him to the tomb, and the principle of its justification is stated in a legal provision belonging to the last years of his life.²

Charles was now about thirty years old. "He was large and strong, and of lofty stature, though not disproportionately tall (his height is well known to have been seven times the length of his foot); the upper part of his head was round; his eyes were very large and animated; his nose was somewhat long, his hair light, his face laughing and merry. Thus his appearance was always stately and dignified, whether he was standing or sitting; although his neck was thick and somewhat short, and his body rather prominent, yet the symmetry of the rest of his person concealed these defects. His gait was firm, his whole carriage manly, and his voice clear, though not so strong as his size led one to expect."²

Such appeared the man to one who knew him well, and drew his portrait from the remembrance of long and intimate familiarity.

Still it may not be superfluous to compare it with another description, the prototype of the traditional "Charlemagne," met in legend and song, in poetry and art. "The emperor was of a ruddy complexion, with brown hair; of a well-made, handsome form, but a stern visage. His height was about eight of his own feet, which were very long. He was of a strong, robust make; his legs and thighs were very stout, and his sinews firm. His face was thirteen inches long, his

¹ See bk. iii., ch. iii., *Division of the Empire*, § 5. ² Vita Caroli, c. 22.

beard a palm; his nose half a palm; his forehead a foot over. His lion-like eyes flashed fire like carbuncles, his eyebrows were half a palm over. When he was angry, it was a terror to look upon him; he required eight spans for his girdle besides what hung loose."¹

Sculptors and painters love to reproduce this picture, which is a giant's. Most of the statues one meets with are of this order, and remind one of Goliath; an old picture in the Cathedral at Aix-la-Chapelle is a terror to look upon, and not only because of the artist's manifest design of painting the "terrible look;" and the old chronicler of St. Denis speaks of his wonderful strength: "He could easily bend three horse-shoes together, lift a knight in armor on his outstretched palm from the ground to saddle, and with his sword *De Joieuse* cleave asunder a knight in full armor," etc., etc.²

Leaving these descriptions, and judging of him as he appears in his deeds, one feels that the old barbarian ferocity of his race and age slumbered in his breast, and broke forth as occasion arose, or opportunity might serve; he had all the fire and courage of Charles Martel, the astuteness and strength of Pepin, an indomitable will, and invincible energy. Though deficient in the learning of the schools, he had acquired the education of practical life, which enabled him to plan and execute a grand purpose. Thus, in the main, appeared the man who, as sole king of the Franks, entered upon the career of glory to be sketched in these pages.

¹ Joh. Turpini Historia de Vita Caroli M. et Rolandi, in Germ. Rer. Quatuor chronogr. It is a forgery assigned to the close of the eleventh century. ² The stature of Charles is discussed in De Statura Caroli Mag. Imp., apud. Bouquet, V., 799

CHAPTER II.

FALL OF THE LOMBARDS.

Hadrian I., pope.—Hadrian and Desiderius.—Hadrian invokes the aid of Charles.—War with Desiderius.—Passage of the Alps.—Siege of Pavia.—Defection.—Visit to Rome.—The Grant.—Fall of the Lombards.

THE relations of Charles and Hadrian were cordial from the first. The pontiff was elected February 1, 772, several months after the usurpation of Carloman's throne and the repudiation of Desiderata; he accepted both events as accomplished facts, and observed a judicious silence concerning them, reasoning perhaps that their occurrence in the pontificate of his predecessor, superadded to the fact that they were not officially referred to him, sufficiently indicated and justified such a course.

Men of the stamp of Adalhard might take a different view and denounce the wanton and deliberate repudiation of a pure and blameless queen as criminal before God, and in flagrant violation of the law of the Church; but Hadrian, though he probably agreed with the abbot of Corbie in principle, differed with him in the treatment of this particular case; his predecessor had anathematized the marriage which the royal offender of his own free will had sundered. Was he, the pontiff, to recommend the continuance of a relation which another pontiff had laid under a curse? Could he do so without reflecting on the pontificate? Indeed he might have gone still further and asked why Stephen was so bitterly and violently opposed to the Lombard union? Did he denounce it on high moral and religious grounds? Hardly so, for he would have suppressed his indignation, if the proposed successor of Himiltrud had been any other lady. The matter of the divorce sat lightly on his conscience, but the union with the Lombard maiden was

intolerable. And on this point Hadrian probably shared the views of Stephen; of the divorce itself he made small account, while the speedy and sudden disruption of a union which allied the patrician of Rome to the implacable enemy of the papal see seemed to him prophetic of good. He therefore withheld all censure, and earned the good will of Charles.

Nor was he less reticent in the matter of Carloman. That king, the record of whose brief reign is almost wholly made up of rich benefactions to the Church, was dead; his widow, dreading the worst at the hands of Charles, accompanied by some nobles, took her sons, the rightful heirs to the vacant throne, and fled to the court of Desiderius (believed to have been her father)¹ for refuge. Charles possessed himself of his kingdom; his act was denounced by Desiderius as a usurpation; but Hadrian heard that the subjects of Carloman had duly elected and crowned him, that the hierarchy was duly represented at the election, and ratified the popular choice by the sacerdotal act of unction. That event also he accepted as an accomplished fact, rejoicing in the thought that the patrician of Rome was monarch of the whole Frankish empire. Could the Church desire a more powerful and devoted defender? Was he not the most zealous champion of the faith, and even then engaged in imposing the gentle yoke of Christ on the fierce pagans, who persecuted the messengers of the cross and destroyed the sanctuaries of the Christians?

Such were his feelings towards Charles, and could he hesitate as to whose cause it was his duty to espouse, the Patrician's or the Lombard's? He would not have been a true Roman pontiff without accepting fully the policy of his predecessors towards the kings of the iron crown. Stephen said that the enmity of the Lombards to the papal see was implacable; the reader of his epistle might truly add that the enmity of the popes to the Lombards was superlatively so.²

¹ See p. 77, note 2.

² See p. 79.

On the accession of Hadrian, Desiderius tried to establish friendly relations, but ineffectually. Such delightful assurances of his good will as he sent to the king did not exactly tend in the direction of amity. He was a man of peace, he said, and desired to live at peace with all men, but how could he follow peace, and trust a king who, on the authority of his sainted predecessor, failed to perform to the Church the most sacred obligations he had undertaken?

It is not clear if this bluntness was uninspired; at any rate it incensed the king, who nevertheless proposed an alliance between Hadrian and himself against Charles, and, with a view to terrifying him into compliance, ordered the occupation by Lombard troops of the cities of Faenza, Ferrara, and Comacchio, which King Pepin and his royal sons had added to the papal jurisdiction. Hadrian demanded their restoration as an indispensable preliminary to amicable intercourse, but Desiderius remained deaf to his expostulations, although he changed his tone when Gerberga arrived with her children. He took up their cause and appealed to the justice, compassion, and gratitude of Hadrian, urging him to befriend the orphans and anoint them kings of the Franks; but appealed in vain, for Hadrian refused.¹

He was angry, and in his anger thought him recreant to the duties of his high office and a time-server. Nor was the matter of Gerberga and her children his sole grievance; he believed Hadrian implicated in the assassination of Paul Afiarte,² his own strong partisan at Rome, in spite of the pontiff's declaration that he had only banished him for the godly purpose of placing him in the way of repentance and saving his soul.

In such a frame of mind the king of the Lombards undertook, at the head of an army, accompanied by his whole

¹ Vita Hadriani, cc. 16-25; cf. Vita Caroli, c. 6.; Annal. Lauriss.; Chron. Moiss., Cod. Carol. (ed. Jaffé), No. 57.

² Paul was banished on the charge of having blinded and killed Sergius, before Pope Stephen died; but Paul had also committed himself to the indiscreet speech, that he meant, if need be, to take Hadrian "with a rope around his feet" before Desiderius. — Vita Hadriani, c. 16 sqq.

family, Gerberga and her children, and Otgar, the doughty Frank and partisan of Carloman, to break the adamantine stubbornness of Hadrian, and force him to do his bidding. He marched upon Rome and demanded an interview with him.

Hadrian refused it, believing that the protection of the patrician would suffice to shield the Church and humble the Lombard.

He sent messengers to Charles by sea entreating him to hasten to Italy, and protect the Church from the machinations of Desiderius, the enemy alike of himself and Charles. He was bent upon separating him, Hadrian, from the love of Charles, and with a view to dividing Francia had asked him to anoint the sons of Carloman kings; nothing would satisfy him but the subjugation of Rome and all Italy under his sceptre. He had steadfastly refused to do his bidding; the Lombard had already seized the cities of Faenza, Ferrara and Comacchio, and in spite of his (Hadrian's) protest and earnest exhortation declined to surrender them.

Such was his message to Charles; he likewise did all he could in the way of preparing for armed resistance; he collected as many troops as he was able to raise and put Rome in a state of defence. And, in the last instance, sent three bishops to Desiderius forbidding him, on pain of the interdict, to violate the territory of the Church.

They met him at Viterbo and, strange to tell, arrested his progress. We may not be able to see in his action the miracle wrought by the threatened sentence of excommunication, because it is not improbable that certain intelligence of the tempest gathering beyond the Alps dictated the necessity of a change in the disposition of his army. But be that as it may, the fact remains that Desiderius returned.

It is charged that he caused the report to go abroad that he had restored the cities; but the Frankish ambassadors, who, in response to Hadrian's complaints, arrived at Rome, verified the contrary, and in company with papal legates, proceeded to Desiderius demanding their surrender. Desiderius refused.

Charles sent a second embassy renewing the demand, and offering to pay him an indemnity of fourteen thousand gold solidi for their restoration. It does not appear if the Frankish proposal was absolute or conditional, for the precise terms are not known; if it was absolute, the infatuation of Desiderius must have been great; if conditional, as some think, suggesting the surrender not only of the Roman cities, but of the royal refugees at his court, his second refusal becomes honorable and chivalrous. It is only just to add, that the seizure of the cities, though a high-handed measure, was hardly an act of rapacity; he took them ostensibly as a pledge or security for the payment of a loan of his to the pope.

The persistent refusal of Desiderius exasperated Charles; he summoned the *heerbann*, and upon due reflection concluded that the gravity of the situation provoked the arbitrament of the sword, and that he must needs undertake this war for the protection of the Church. He accordingly proceeded with all the military strength of the Franks to Geneva, and there made all necessary dispositions for the commencement of hostilities.¹

While preparations were in progress the customary national sanction of the enterprise was obtained in the diet held there, it seems in May;² there was a due declaration of war,³ and the army was separated into two grand divisions, one commanded by Charles in person, and the other by his uncle Bernard, son of Charles Martel.⁴

He took the route of Mount Cenis, his uncle that of Mount Jupiter, that is the Great St. Bernard, which some think owes its Christian name to this march. The passage of the Alps was difficult, but not more so than usual, for although we read, in rather vague phrase, of "the hardships

¹ See on the preceding paragraphs: c. 9. MG. SS. III., 476. — Annal. Lauriss., Vita Caroli, c. 6; Einh. Chron. Moiss.; Cod. Carol., 57 (ed. Jaffé); Vita Hadriani, cc. 16–26, 29; Paul. Diac. c. MG. SS. Langob. 201, 202.; cf. Baronius; and Chron. Salern.,

² Annal. Lauriss., Guelf.; Einh.

³ Vita Caroli, c. 6.

⁴ See Geneal. Table.

that the Franks endured in climbing the trackless mountain ridges, the heaven-aspiring cliffs, and ragged peaks,"¹ it is doubtful if these were chosen; both armies doubtless followed the easiest roads available. The passage by Mount Cenis, regarded as the gate of Italy, was expected and disputed. Desiderius had caused all the valleys and approaches leading from Francia into Italy to be strongly fortified.

When Charles reached the cluses (*clausæ*) he seems to have ordered a halt, and before attacking the formidable walls and towers again sent ambassadors to Desiderius demanding the surrender of the papal cities, and expressing his readiness to accept three hostages for the faithful fulfilment of the request.

But this seems as improbable as an alleged defeat of the Franks by Adelchis; their consternation and preparations for a retreat, when, by divine interposition, the king of the Lombards gave up all resistance and fled in hot haste.

It appears more reasonable to explain the undoubted flight of Desiderius in another way. Charles, unwilling to sacrifice his army in storming the fortifications, ordered his *scaræ* to turn the enemy's position, and when that had been accomplished, the Lombards fled. We may reject as history, but introduce as legend, the story of the Lombard jester who found his way into the Frankish camp, singing a strange song with this meaning: "What reward will be given to the man who shall safely conduct Charles into Italy? on paths where no spear will be hurled, nor shield raised against him, nor any hurt come to him or his?" The story continues **773**] that he was taken before the king, who promised him all he asked. It is not incredible that Martin, the deacon, guided the Franks, and certain that for many years to come the "Way of the Franks" was known in the mountains as the road by which the troopers of Charles turned the Lombard position and entered the plain country.

The appearance of so formidable an enemy in their rear,

¹ Vita Caroli, c. vi.

or perhaps more accurately, intelligence of his approach, decided the course of the Lombards, who could not indulge the hope of the successful issue of an engagement with the Franks so superior to them in numbers, discipline, generalship, and moral prestige. Retreat to the shelter of a fortress was a military necessity, and neither Charles nor Bernard appears to have encountered opposition in the open field.

The Lombard forces became demoralized and disbanded. Desiderius shut himself up in Pavia, and strengthened its fortifications, while Adelchis, accompanied by the widow and sons of Carloman, sought the protection of Verona, then the strongest city in all Italy.¹

The moral effect of the Frankish invasion was tremendous; the vassals of Desiderius, and many towns, perceiving themselves isolated, and entirely cut off from the sovereign and the seat of government, only consulted their own safety, and either submitted to the conqueror or fled to the pope, who transformed them into Roman citizens by the simple expedient of making them wear their hair in the Roman fashion.

During the progress of the siege negotiations took place, but their character is not known. Desiderius made a gallant defence of the city, repulsed the first assault with spirit and skill, and compelled Charles to undertake the complete investment of the place, which was very spacious, strongly fortified, and well supplied with provisions. A Frankish city arose under the walls of Pavia, in which a chapel was built, and a military court established, which was presently graced by the arrival of Queen Hildegard.

Thus winter passed away, and the question of the fall of the Lombard capital and that of the Lombard dynasty was only one of time. The mass of the people of the Lombard kingdom was still Roman; and indifferent if it obeyed a Lombard despot or a Frank; the presence of a victorious army numerically superior to that of Desiderius, and the

¹ Annal. Aug. Laus. a. 774; S. Petav.; Maxim.—Cf. Chron. Noval. Amandi; Lauriss.; Chron. Moiss. a. III. 7, 14. 773; Vita Hadr. cc. 29-31, 34; Annal.

zealous co-operation of an army of ecclesiastics implacably hostile to the Lombards, caused wide-spread defection which made the king of the Franks virtually and *de facto* master of the whole of northern Italy. Every day weakened the tottering fabric of Lombard rule, brightened the prospect of a speedy conquest by Charles, and raised the fondest expectations of the pontiff.

774] Hadrian sent most pressing and flattering invitations to Charles to come to Rome, and promised him a reception never before accorded to a German prince. They were accepted, and, leaving the conduct of the siege in the hands of his lieutenants, he set out for Rome.

His progress was one of triumph. The Senate and the nobles went forth to greet the Patrician, who came attired in Roman costume, and was attended by a brilliant retinue. They proceeded as far as Novi, thirty miles distant. On Easter Even he approached the city by the Flaminian Way, which for the distance of a mile was lined with the flower of the Roman soldiery, and the Schools, or national communities of Greeks, Lombards, Saxons and others, while young children waved palms and olive branches in triumphal rejoicing, and sang hymns of praise and thanksgiving in honor of the victorious deliverer of the Church of God.

At the gates an imperial reception awaited him at the hands of the most honored dignitaries, who carried the venerable standards and crosses of the city.

The sight of the cross stirred the religious sentiment of the king; he dismounted, and his example was instantly followed by all the officers and nobles of his suite; he entered the city on foot and proceeded to the ancient basilica of St. Peter; as he ascended the stairs he kissed each step in a burst of reverential devotion, and when he reached the top, Hadrian, at the head of his clergy, gave him affectionate welcome. They kissed, but even on the way to the altar the king walked on the right of the pope.¹

¹ The pope, at that time, certainly had not the faintest thought of asserting his equality, still less his superiority.—The whole account of this memorable visit follows the "Vita Hadriani."

Charles was not remiss in any of the outward tokens of Christian devotion; he performed the prescript round, then in vogue with pilgrims, of all the basilicas; repaired to the Lateran to witness the administration of baptism by the pope, and on Easter Day set the edifying example of receiving at his hands, in the basilica of S. Maria Maggiore, the Holy Communion.

Dinner in the Lateran prepared the way for much private intercourse. The pope approved all his acts past and future, nor failed to incite him to generosity by the presentation of the deed of the territorial grant made by his father of blessed memory to Stephen his predecessor. This is said to have occurred in St. Peter's on Wednesday in Easter week. The sight of that document, says the report, moved the king not only to confirm the grant but to augment it by further donations in territory which would soon become his by the right of conquest.

It was not an oral promise only, but drawn up in writing. There in the basilica of St. Peter the king gave to the apostle and promised to the pope the cities and territory within the line of Luni, together with the island of Corsica, following that of Saranza, the Mons Bardonis, Berceto, Parma, Reggio, Mantua, and Monselice, the entire Exarchate as originally defined, as well as the Venetian provinces, Istria, and lastly the duchies of Spoleto and Benevento.

The grant, writes Anastasius, was duly signed by all the bishops, abbots, dukes and counts present and drawn up in triplicate; one copy the king, with his own hands, placed upon the high altar of the church, a second he deposited in the tomb of the apostles, and a third (even more copies are mentioned) he kept for safe keeping in the Frankish archives.

Unfortunately all the copies have been lost, and lost long ago, for not one of them has ever been produced.

The high contracting parties then and there bound themselves by the most sacred and terrible¹ oaths to the inviolate

¹ "Sub terribili sacramento."

observance of all the provisions of the engagement, which, if it ever was entered into, was one of the most memorable of record.

Without discussing the wide question of the evidence, it is not hazardous to express doubt, for it is hard to believe that so sagacious and cautious a man as Charles should ever have committed himself to the bestowal of territory, the greater part of which did not yet belong to him; and, as a matter of fact, the alleged donation could not have been in any sense real, since his successors enjoyed until about the eleventh century all the rights of full sovereignty over the patrimony of St. Peter.¹

Before parting the pope is said to have presented to the king a copy of the canons of the Church with a metrical dedication, inscribed with his own hand, and forming the anagram "Pope Hadrian to his most excellent son, King Charles the Great." The dedication styles him "the defender of Holy Church who, after the example of his father, and with the help of Christ and the keys of St. Peter, had trodden under foot the nations, his enemies;" it adds, "that the light of the true doctrine shone on his throne; that he had restored to the Church her ancient possessions; that he had conquered the Lombards and Huns; that the fame of his glorious line was destined to resound throughout the world," and concludes thus: "he reigns high, noble and in splendor over the kingdoms which obey his sceptre; he has followed the wake of the apostles; the people have welcomed him with songs of praise and thanksgiving; Pope Hadrian, the pontiff of Christ, predicts his triumph; Peter and Paul are sure to protect him."²

A dedication inscribed to "Charles *the Great*" in 774, and adverting to the conquest of the Huns, which occurred more than twenty-one years later and after the death of Hadrian, is either a most wonderful prophecy or the pro-

¹ Vita Hadriani, cc. 42, 43.—Codex Corsica, Leonis II. ep. Jaffé, Bibl. IV., p. 310.

² Sirmond, *Concil. Gall. t. ii.*, p. Benevento, Nos. 83, 84, 87, and 117.

duction of an author not well up in chronology. It is unquestionably a forgery.

Slightly anticipating the order of events, it seems safest to conclude the account of the donation in the words of Einhard: "Suffice it to say that this war ended with the subjection of Italy, the banishment of King Desiderius for life, the expulsion of his son Adelchis from Italy, and the restoration of the conquests of the Lombard kings to Hadrian, the head of the Roman Church."¹

The meeting of the king and the pope was one of clear understanding; they formed a strong and enduring alliance of mutual friendship and support, and commemorated the event by ordering a medal to be struck which represents them holding conjointly the Gospels lying on an altar; bearing on the obverse the words: "With thee as with Peter, with thee as with Gaul," and on the reverse, the legend: "Sacred League."²

They had looked into each other's eyes, and essayed to probe each other, with the result, that they deemed themselves as mutually indispensable as the hands of the body, which, in the proverbial phrase of Germany, wash one another. Hadrian, before they parted, advised his royal guest to seize the whole of Lombardy, but warned him against its incorporation with the Frankish empire; he thought the style and title of "King of the Franks and of Lombardy" ought to content him, and that such a course would both enhance his personal popularity and conciliate the people. He wrote in the same strain afterwards, for he had the matter much at heart, and doubtless thought not less of his own interests than of those of his most excellent son. Hitherto he had been able to invoke the aid of the king of the Franks against the Lombards, but in the possible event of a disagreement with the king of the Franks, as master of Italy, whose aid could he seek against *him*? Charles took the hint, but worked it in his own way.³

¹ Vita, c. 6.

² Obverse: "Tecum sicut cum Petro, tecum sicut cum Gallia."

Reverse: "Sacr. foed."—Leblanc, *Traité des Monnaies*.

³ Cod. Carol. Ep. 55, apud Bou-

Laden with the benisons of the pontiff, the king returned to the army before Pavia, and ordered the most vigorous prosecution of the war, not only under his own immediate observation, but at Verona, which was also girdled by his steel-clad warriors, and throughout the territory north of the Po. The results became soon manifest; the northern country submitted without much resistance; Pavia held out two months longer, until famine and pestilence, sent (according to Anastasius) by an angry God, compelled Desiderius to open her gates, and surrender at discretion.

The isolated notice¹ that he and the Lombards entered the Frankish camp and voluntarily laid down their arms is credible; but there is no good ground for the story that an Italian, called Peter, treacherously opened the gates to the conqueror, and in reward of the act became bishop of Verdun.² An ancient chronicler also narrates the treason, but makes Desiderata the traitor. According to him, she wrote a letter to Charles, tied it to a stone, thrust it by means of a *ballista*, or military engine, into the hostile camp, in which she undertook to give him the city if he would marry her. She received a favorable reply, stole the keys, despatched a second letter by *ballista*, and notified her lover that that selfsame night, at a given signal, he might enter the city. The gates were opened at the set time, when the love-lorn maiden hastened forth to greet her husband, but in the tumult and the darkness of the night was trampled to death by the horses.³ The ridiculous myth, doubtless the invention of a later age, may possibly cover something which the obsequious annalists would not or dared not record.

It is certain that Pavia was surrendered, that Desiderius, Ansa his queen, and Desiderata his daughter, became prisoners of war, and that the royal treasure fell into the hands of Charles.

The fall of Verona followed, some say preceded,⁴ that of

quet. The epistle was written before the capture of Pavia. Muratori fails to establish the date of 782. *Annali d'Italia*, IV., p. 365.

¹ Ann. Lauriss. minor.

² MG. SS. iv., 44.

³ Chron. Noval, III., 14.

⁴ For authorities and reasons see Böhmer, *l. c.*, 64.

Pavia. The gallant Adelchis held out to the last, but, preferring voluntary exile to the dreaded fate of involuntary religious contemplation, left the city to its fate. He was the last hope of the Lombards, and in expectation of a turn in the affairs of his country sought the coast, sailed to Constantinople, found a hospitable and cordial welcome at the court of Constantine, and there grew old with the honors of the rank of a patrician.¹ It will be remembered that the widow and children of Carloman, together with Otgar, were in Verona; they also fell into the hands of Charles.

What became of her and hers is not known; the fate of the members of the royal family also, who went into banishment, is by no means established. The most respectable authorities simply state that Charles carried them into Francia;² others add, that Desiderius and Ansa were shut up in the monastery of Corbie, where he spent the residue of his days in vigils, prayers, and fasting, and many good works;³ and still others speak of a more fearful fate. The common people of Italy believed, as late as the eleventh century, that the conqueror caused his eyes to be put out before he left Pavia;⁴ but such a statement, though not incredible, is certainly weakened by the explicit declaration of a contemporary Lombard historian, famed for his great attachment to the Lombard family, "that he [Charles] exhibited the rare example of tempering his victory with clemency."⁵

It seems, therefore, most charitable to indulge the hope that all the royal captives found the best asylum to be had in those fearful days in the seclusion of cloistered walls.

The capture of the royal family and treasure, the flight of Adelchis, the fall of the capital and the strongest cities, together with the virtual conquest of the whole country, left the dukes, princes, and nobles of the Lombard dominion no other choice but that of acknowledging the supremacy

¹ Annal. Einh.

² Annal. S. Amand., Mosell., Lauresh.—Vita Hadr., c. 44.

³ Annal. Sangall. maj. cf. Bouquet, V., 385.

⁴ Chron. Salern.

⁵ Paul. Diac. MG. SS. II., p. 263.

of the king of the Franks and accepting him as their lord. All took the oath of fealty, except the dukes of Benevento and Spoleto.

Thus ended the Lombard dynasty, which had lasted two **774**] hundred and four years. The earliest authentic date of the change is June 5th; it occurs in a document, executed on that day in the city of Pavia, and marks the beginning of the second period of the reign of Charles (774-800), during which he bore the title of "King of the Franks and Lombards," augmented by the further designation of "Patrician of the Romans." The epoch of the event is now accepted to lie between the 30th of May and the 2d of June.¹

We cannot vouch for the reality of the grand and imposing ceremonial alleged to have been enacted in the cathedral of Monza, but give it as one of the numerous legends belonging to this reign.

On a set day the Estates of Lombardy were assembled, and Charles, attended by a large number of bishops, was conducted to the presence of the archbishop of Milan, who asked them if they were willing to be subject and render faithful obedience to the king before them. The sacred edifice rang with their loud acclaim. Mass was begun, and in the middle of the service the archbishop anointed the king, girded him with a sword, presented to him the bracelets, the ring, and the royal mantle, and crowned him with the golden crown, which on account of an iron band on the inner side, believed to have been wrought of the nails used in the Crucifixion, bears the name of the "Iron Crown."²

The legendary character of this pretended coronation at Monza is clearly established, for according to Lombard usage the elevation of the sovereign was attended, not by coronation, but the presentation of a spear. The "Iron

¹ See authorities in Böhmer, *l. c.*

² Some hold that anciently the iron band was the only crown in use, while others assert that one of the Lombard queens devised the plan of two kinds of metal as a standing admonition to the kings that the crown is often a crush-

ing burden, and that "all is not gold that glitters." See Sigonius, p. 145; cf. Muratori, *Anecd.* II., 267 sqq. Le Cointe, VI., 51 sqq.; Leibniz, *Annales*, I., 55 sq.; Pauli Diac. Hist. Langob., VI., 55. SS. rer. Langob., p. 184.

Crown," moreover, could not have been used, for the excellent reason that Queen Theodelinda did not institute it till centuries later, and as a matter of fact, Henry of Luxemburg is believed to have been the first German emperor who wore it, in A.D. 1311.

The archbishop then declared him duly elected and crowned king of the Lombards, led him to a throne, gave him the customary kiss, and concluded the service.¹

The alleged service was designed to convey the impression that though the dynasty had changed, the kingdom of the Lombards continued; that its autonomy was preserved; that the old ways should be followed, and the old laws maintained.

It is certain, that the conqueror restored to the keeping of the pope the cities and territories which the Lombard had seized, bestowed rich gifts on certain monasteries, left strong French garrisons in Pavia and other cities, and returned with great triumph into Francia.²

¹ Hist. Eccl. Medial. Dec. I., 1. cf. Abel-Simson, I., 192 sq.
² Annal. Bertin.—Murat. II., 2, 498; Lauriss.; Böhmer, *l.c.* No. 163, a.

CHAPTER III.

SAXON WAR, TO CONVERSION OF WITTEKIND.

The Saxons.—Object and conduct of the war.—Military institutions of Charles.—Eresburg.—Irmisul.—Miracle at Fritzlar.—Purpose of Charles.—Treachery.—Miracle at Sigburg.—Wholesale baptism.—Wittekind.—Saxon raid.—Bocholt.—Conversions.—Laws for the Saxons.—Fight at the Süntel.—Butchery at Verden.—Battles at Detmold, and on the Hase.—Winter campaign.—Negotiations with Wittekind.—His conversion.—Legend.—Alcuin's advice.

THE second period of the reign of Charles spans more than a quarter of a century, but falls short by six years of one of the longest and most remarkable wars ever conducted. What it cost in human life, toil, and money defies numerical expression, since all trustworthy data indispensable to such a calculation are wanting; but the expenditure in all three must have been enormous, and it is understating the truth, if we name millions of lives, and many millions in money or its equivalent. The foe with whom it was waged was terrible in strength, ferocity, vindictiveness, and valor,—we may say was not only the equal but the superior of the Franks in every martial attribute, and would never have been subdued even by Charles, the greatest captain of his century, had he known the secret of his strength, and, under the command, say, of such a leader as Wittekind, buried all jealousies, and in the spirit of his descendants, who found their way to these western shores, repelled the invaders.

The Saxons were divided, and their unhappy feuds were the chief and earliest cause of their misfortunes. The country which they inhabited was not too vast for united action; it was bounded by the Rhine in the west, the Elbe in the east, the Main in the south, the sea in the north. Even their neighbors, with few exceptions, were friendly, of kin-

dred origin, as brave as they, and, on an emergency, ready to make common cause with them.

They were a splendid people, and much of the best blood that now circles in the veins of races of Germanic and Anglo-Saxon origin is derived from them. Had we a true Saxon annalist or chronicler of the events of the period of the Saxon war the story would doubtless read differently, but even as it is recorded by the pens of ecclesiastical and obsequious scribes, it is one of thrilling interest, which, taking all in all, redounds more to the glory of the subdued than to that of the subduer.

The object for which it was waged was partly political, partly religious. The Franks claimed that it was defensive, the Saxons denounced it as aggressive; its earliest beginnings doubtless partook of that double character, but at the period under notice it meant conquest pure and simple; the Saxons, moreover, were pagan idolaters, and the Franks professed Christianity; it was their avowed purpose to subdue them, and the great king swore that they must be subdued and converted, or exterminated.

For thirty-two long and terrible years the struggle was maintained with unabated vigor and ever-increasing severity until the Saxon was swept from his ancestral soil, his land owned by the oppressor, and the wilderness of devastation made to blossom as the rose under the shadow of Christian temples.

If the object of the war was peculiar, so was its method; it was utterly unlike modern wars. An army now invades a hostile country and seeks to maintain its footing until it defeats or is defeated. The expeditions of Charles were mostly summer campaigns; he had no standing army, and his *heerbann*, with rare exceptions, returned in the autumn of the year to their homes, rarely went into winter quarters, and had often to repair the damage done by the enemy during their absence, before they could begin more offensive operations, or follow up their advantage. Excepting his *scara*, which are believed to have been a kind of mounted body-guard and soldiers by profession, always at hand for imme-

diate service, the great bulk of the Frankish army was a militia whose compulsory response to the annual summons seldom entailed active service for a period longer than a hundred days.

(The military institutions of Charles were the most onerous and least popular of his government; to him they were of the utmost importance, for without them he could not have conquered so large a portion of Europe and held it, with trifling exceptions, in absolute subjection. He devised the plan of combining the old military constitution of the Franks with the feudal system, in virtue of which not only his vassals, and their liege-men, but also all freemen possessed of independent freehold property were bound to march against the enemy. This universal obligation to military service was called the *heerbann*,¹ and it was usual to apply the same word, or its substitute *königsbann*, to the fine payable to the king by every one who failed to render it; the fine of sixty solidi was a sufficiently large sum at the time to make the military service strictly compulsory.

Every freeman was bound to provide his own outfit, and for the space of three months his own support. The generally impoverished condition of the people required special legislation, in virtue of which it was enacted that he who owned from three to five *mansi* had to march against the enemy; those who owned less were bound, according to their ability, to be at the expense of providing the outfit and support of a warrior, some paying as much as half the necessary amount, others only a third, a fifth, or a sixth. If the theatre of war was within easy reach, even the poor had to report in person for military duty, and the privilege of a plurality of persons undertaking the outfit and support of a warrior was granted only when the military operations were at a considerable distance, say in Hungary, Italy, or Spain. On the march every feudal lord or master commanded his own vassals, but all the independent freemen of

¹ The word "bann" is used in three jurisdiction. See Ducange, s. v., distinct senses: it signifies a public "bannum," edict, a judicial fine, and a district or

the *gau*, or county, were led by their count. The count only had the power of granting dispensations, and was apt to use it in favor of his own feudaries against the independent freeholders.)

The *heerschau*, muster, or annual parade, took place in the month of May, ostensibly for the purpose of inspecting the arms of those liable to military service; but as annual war-like expeditions were the rule in this reign, the *heerschau* was generally the rendezvous for an impending campaign. To speak somewhat more in detail, when the king had resolved upon some military expedition, he sent his *missi* throughout the realm to summon the *heerbann*, that is, requiring all persons liable to military service to assemble on a given day and at a set place for the muster; those who came too late were fined; their equipment in arms consisted of a sword, a shield and a lance, or where no lance was brought, a bow with two strings and twelve arrows was accepted in its place. The proprietor of twelve *mansi* had to furnish a cuirass (*brunia*), or a helmet; failure to supply either imperilled his fief. Owners of landed property on the line of march were bound to furnish transportation for the personal effects, and provisions of the king, the court, the bishops, abbots, and counts. The counts were held responsible for good roads and bridges, and not slow to impose this additional burden on the long-suffering country population; the troops were quartered upon the people; and the counts, moreover, expressly enjoined to reserve two-thirds of the grass and hay in their counties, so that the horses and cattle of the host might not come to grief.¹

The first expedition which Charles undertook against the Saxons was in consequence of a disturbance caused by the imprudent zeal of Lebuinus, one of the Anglo-Saxon missionaries sent forth by Willibrord of Utrecht. He seemed to think that the erection of a church was the one thing needful to the conversion of the wicked Saxons; but as they refused to go to it and hear their ancestors evil spoken

¹ Capitula ad exercit. promov. a. 808.

of, and declared to reap the reward of their wickedness in the uncomfortable regions of eternal flame, Lebuinus resolved to go to them, and suited his visit to the time of their Annual Assembly at Eresburg, and the great national religious festival at the Irminsul.

Arrayed in gorgeous robes and carrying a cross in his hand, the zealous missionary passed through the throng to an open circular enclosure, peculiarly sacred to the worshippers.

The Saxons resented the intrusion as sacrilegious, but suppressed their indignation, and for a while listened to him.

"What do ye?" he cried, "the idols you worship live not, neither do they perceive; they are the work of men's hands; they cannot do anything, either for themselves or for others. Wherefore the one God, good and just, having compassion on your errors, has sent me unto you. If you do not put away your iniquity, I predict trouble which you do not expect, but which the King of Heaven has ordained aforetime. A prince shall come, strong, wise, and indefatigable, not from afar, but from nigh at hand, and burst upon you like a torrent; he shall soften your hard hearts and bow down your proud heads. At one rush he shall invade your land, waste it with fire and sword, and drag you, your wives and children, into captivity."

The people, in their wrath, would have killed Lebuinus on the spot, but were prevented by the temperate counsel of the aged Buto.

"Listen, brethren," he said, "ye are the most wise. There have often come to us ambassadors from neighboring nations, from the Northmen, the Slavonians, and the Frisians; we received them in peace, heard what they had to say, and dismissed them with presents. Here is an ambassador from a great god, and would ye slay him?"¹

His counsel prevailed that day; they allowed Lebuinus to go unhurt, but a few days later, set on fire the church at Deventer.

¹ Vita Lebuini, MG. SS. II., p. 363, al.

Tidings of these and probably other disturbances became known to Charles in due course, and led him to plan and execute the first Saxon expedition. It is not at all improbable that the aggressive policy of the Franks was one of the first and strongest causes of Saxon opposition to Christianity. Undefined territorial limits in a rude state of society invariably lead to war; all along the Saxon and Frisian borders life and property were insecure, and the fierce pagans ever watched for convenient seasons of retaliation. They did not spare, nor did the Franks. The subjection or, as it was viewed at the time, the conversion, of the Saxons became a political necessity. Empire and Christianity were synonymous terms; the Franks were Christians, the Saxons a race of savage, treacherous idolaters. Their crimes must be punished, and the sword alone could decide which was to prevail, idolatry and diabolism, or Christianity and the Franks. It was the finger of destiny; idolatry must perish, and Christianity triumph; Charles was strong and Francia a unit; the Saxons were strong, but they were divided; they had almost as many chieftains and rulers as they had villages. Their subjugation might be delayed, but it was inevitable.

772] The expedition took place after the Diet had been held at Worms, and was conducted by Charles in person. He advanced into the hostile country with fire and sword on a line from Mayence, where he crossed the Rhine, to the Diemel in the Hessian country, attacked and took the Eresburg, and afterwards destroyed the Irminsul.¹

The former was a natural stronghold, rendered still stronger by art, and situated upon the present site of Stadtberge, between Cassel and Paderborn; the latter stood at a point several thousand paces distant from the headwaters of the Lippe, and was a famous columnar structure associated with the religion and patriotism of the Saxons. It is spoken of as an idol, signifying the deity, and in the popular mind, the visible embodiment of divine power sustaining

¹ Annal. Lauriss., Einh. al.

the universe. There was a column, a sanctuary, and a heroic image, which some connect with Arminius, the Cheruscan chief, who defeated the famous legions.

It is said that the hero stood forth fully armed, with a standard in his right hand and a balance in the left, emblematic of the fluctuations of war; that the breastplate depicted a bear, the symbol of fearless courage, the shield a lion bedded on flowers, to teach the Saxon warrior that the battlefield is the most beautiful place of repose; that a large body of priests and priestesses, the former engaged with sacrifices, the latter with divinations, was connected with the Irminsul; that they persuaded the people that all enterprises undertaken at their bidding, and in virtue of divine revelations made to them, must infallibly succeed; that their influence was prodigious, especially in the election of judges, of whom they had sixteen to every district of seventy-two families, the noblest born of their number being the president-judge; that these judges, represented by their president and the lowest of their order, were wont to repair semi-annually, in April and October, to the priests at the Irminsul presenting offerings and invoking the aid of the godhead; that the priests nominated new judges to fill vacancies caused by death, in the event of war carried the statue of the godhead in front of the army, and sacrificed prisoners to their idols.¹

This famous and grand national idol and fane Charles destroyed, carried off the treasure in gold and silver which he found there,² and continued his march to the Weser, where the Saxons stood in force. There negotiations were had, in consequence of which the Saxons gave twelve hostages, and thus the expedition terminated. It is stated,³ but not established, that his successes were dear-bought; this

¹ Meibom, *Rerum Germ.* t. iii., p. 9; Gruben, *Observ. Rer. et Antiq. German et Rom.* p. 165 sqq. See the literature in Abel, *l. c.* I., 105, 107.—
Transl. S. Alex. c. 3, in MG. SS. II., 276. Pertz; Luden, Guizot, and many others admit the connection of the Irminsul with Arminius.
² Annal. Lauriss., Einh., Mosell., al.
³ Annal. Nordhumbr.

is, however, not improbable, for the Saxons were brave, and unless overwhelmed by numbers, would offer desperate resistance.

Their submission was not of long duration, and the occasion of the next outbreak will now be told.

It was mid-summer when Charles with his victorious legions crossed the Alps and re-entered the Frankish dominions; on the way to the Rhone the march was arrested by an afflictive occurrence; the king and the queen mourned the loss of their youngest daughter Adelhaid, which befell them on the journey.¹

This sad sequel to the triumphal Lombard campaign 771] cast its shadow on his joy, which was deepened by the announcement that the Saxons had taken advantage of his absence in Italy and were in arms.

Early in the season they entered the Hessian territory, and advancing westward, ravaged the country, assaulted the Buriaburg, and set fire to Fritzlar. The church of St. Boniface, it is said, escaped by a miracle. The saintly founder of the church predicted that it should never be burned with fire. The prophecy was known to the Saxons, but reposing no faith in Boniface and his Christians, they undertook to put it to the test and set the church on fire. In the midst of their endeavor, and while the Christian inmates of the church trembled for their lives, they paused, threw their torches aside, and panic-stricken fled to their own country, though no one pursued them. They, as well as the Christians, had seen the sudden appearance of two young men in shining garments as the defenders of the church. Whoever they were, angels from paradise, or angels provided by the ecclesiastics, the Saxons went—and when the Christians came forth, they saw a Saxon in kneeling posture, his mouth in the act of blowing on the lighted torch, which he was even then applying to the church,—transfixed in death.

The season was too far advanced for extensive operations,

¹ MG. SS. II., 265.

the troops moreover after the long Italian campaign wanted rest; but the Saxons must be punished, and four *scarae* were ordered to their country; three of their number sought and defeated the offenders, while the fourth, which did no fighting, secured much booty, and all returned proud of their easy victory.

775] That winter Charles made up his mind to prosecute the Saxon war in good earnest, and never to sheathe the sword “until they were either subdued and converted to Christ, or annihilated.”¹

That was the object of the war, and the spirit in which it was conceived and conducted to the bitter end. It had not only the approbation of the personal friend and biographer of Charles, who records it in the *Annals* and the *Life*, but that of all Christendom from the pope down to the humblest acolyte. Einhard ingenuously declares that “the king did not suffer his high purpose . . . to be wearied by any fickleness” of the enemy, “or to be turned from the task; he never allowed their perfidy to go unpunished, but either took the field against them in person, or sent his counts with an army to wreak vengeance, or exact righteous satisfaction.”²

The *Saxon* poet, writing in the next century, lauds the savage resolve, comments upon it in strains of gratitude to Almighty God, and says that his people—such was the obstinate ferocity of their nature—required just such a teacher as Charles, who constrained them by force of arms, willing or unwilling, to save their souls.

Immediately after the Diet of Düren, where the *heerbann* lay encamped, the king crossed the Rhine, took the fortress of Sigburg, at the confluence of the Ruhr and the Lenne, put a Frankish garrison into the place, and continuing the march to the Eresburg, caused his soldiers to rebuild that stronghold, garrisoned it with Franks, and penetrated to the country near the Weser, where he found the

¹ . . . dum aut victi christianæ religioni subicerentur, aut omnino tollerentur.”—Ann. Einh.

² Vita, c. 7.

enemy in force, prepared to dispute his passage. A fight took place in which the Saxons were routed with great loss; he occupied both sides of the river, pursued the flying foe to the Ocker, and there made a truce with him, in virtue of which the Eastphalians and Hassio, their leader, gave hostages and swore fealty. Charles retraced his steps and met the same success in the canton of Bucki, where Bruno and other leaders of the Angrians followed the example of the Eastphalians.

They were rather hasty and clearly ignorant of what had taken place on the Weser. The Franks, whom Charles left behind to guard the river, seeing no enemy present, grew careless and scoured the country for forage, while those who stayed in camp fell to idleness and good living. The wary foe saw his opportunity; a number of Saxons donned the Frankish garb and came into the Frankish camp as "good friends and faithful allies." The Frankish soldiers, like their king, were wont to sleep after dinner. At the ninth hour, that is, at 3 P.M., the foraging party returned to camp, and the Saxons entered with it. How they duped the Franks, and how long they kept up the fraud, is not known; at any rate, they fell upon the sleepers, and put many to the sword; the tumult roused the camp, a *mêlée* ensued, in which some of the intruders were killed, but most escaped. Indeed, it seems, if another account is accurate, that the surprise was complete, and that the Franks had to purchase their lives in a humiliating cartel. The Saxons who performed this stratagem were Westphalians, and they would have escaped but for the timely approach of Charles. He immediately gave pursuit, overtook and defeated them, and compelled them, like the Eastphalians and Angrians, to submit and give hostages.¹

He then returned into Francia with great spoil and began the work of conversion with the Saxon hostages, who as a rule were young nobles, found homes in Frankish monasteries, and became or were made Christians.

776] Practically the campaign had been useless, for in less

¹ Annal. Einh., Lauriss., Fuldens.; Poeta Saxo.

than a twelvemonth the Eresburg lay again in ruins, and the Saxons appeared in force before the fortress of Sigburg. The garrison made a successful sortie and drove the enemy to the Lippe, but not beyond. This seems to be the truth, but another account fables of a miraculous deliverance. The Franks and the Saxons saw the sudden appearance, within the fort, of two gory, flaming shields, directed by invisible hands, as in a battle, to ward off the missiles of the assailants. The Saxons were terrified, fell back in great confusion and became entangled in each other's spears, when the Franks issued forth and drove them to the Lippe.¹ The Franks, it may be observed, understood the use of pulleys.

This new outbreak was most discouraging and occasioned a fresh campaign. The king entered the hostile country with a large army, and so impetuous was his progress, that the earth-works and barricades which the Saxons had thrown up did not arrest it; he laid waste the country, as he went, and reached the Weser without encountering the enemy. It is said that all the Saxons were thoroughly terrified,² came from all directions, swore fealty and promised to become Christians; and not only so, but in token of their good faith, many of the chief nobles, and "an innumerable multitude" repaired with their wives and children to the new fortress of Carlstadt (which Charles had caused to be built), and were baptized. "He conquered," says another account, "the greater part of Saxony," again rebuilt the Eresburg, and, leaving strong Frankish garrisons in the fortresses, returned into Francia rejoicing in the comparatively bloodless victory and singular conversion of an entire people.³

In order to follow up his advantage and complete the subjugation and conversion of the whole nation, he summoned the next Diet or May-field to Paderborn, situated in the very heart of the Saxon country. All the estates of **777]** Francia, the Saxon chieftains, and the entire *heerbann* were bidden to come. The predominantly military charac-

¹ Annal. Bertin.

² Perterriti.—Ann. Lauriss.

³ Ann. Lauriss., Mosell., Einh., Lauresh., Petav.

ter of those gatherings, in which the mind and will of the autocrat dictated all necessary legislation, stands out in this Diet of Paderborn, where Frankish and Saxon nobles met for the first time in seemingly friendly concourse. Charles proposed to treat the Saxons on terms of equality with his Frankish subjects, provided they forswore their pagan idolatry, accepted Christianity, and assumed the obligation to military service.

The Saxons came in large numbers, and, awed by the presence of so large an army, accepted his terms; they promised everything, swore fidelity, and said that they would go into slavery or exile if they failed to keep the oath of allegiance. They also listened to the instructions they received concerning the new religion, and convinced by the royal argument, craved the benefit of Christian baptism.

That argument, though unsuited to this generation, told eleven centuries ago in the depth of a German forest. It was as follows: prisoners of war *must* be baptized; of the rest, those who were reasonable *would* be baptized, while those who were incorrigibly and inveterately unreasonable were *bribed* to be baptized.¹

The wholesale reception of those fierce converts to the faith must have been an impressive scene; the entire hierarchy of the Franks, with a large number of priests and monks, came to administer the initiatory sacrament to a nation collected for the purpose on the banks of the cold Lippe; all the nobility, together with the military strength of the most powerful nation of the age, stood by as spectators, or following the royal example, assumed sponsorial duties. The ministrants, the most Christian king, and as many of the Christian witnesses familiar with the book of the Acts, recalled the days of apostolic zeal when thousands were added to the Church in one day, and were thankful.

The Saxon converts probably thought and felt that bap-

¹ "Congregato tam grande exercitu Saxoniam profectus est. Quo cum rex pervenisset, partim bellis, partim suasionibus, partim enim muneribus maxima ex parte gentem ad fidem Christi convertit."—Vita Sturmii, MG. SS. II., 376. Compare p. 82 *ad finem*.

tism was a cool, cleanly, and inexpensive ceremony, which might do them much good and could not do them any harm.

But all the Saxons, though summoned to come, did not respond to the call; indeed the bravest, noblest, and most redoubtable Saxon did not come. That was Wittekind, the son of Wernekind, a mighty Westphalian chief, the brother-in-law of Sigfrid, king of the Danes, and the personal friend and ally of Ratbod, king of the Frisians.

Contemporary writers explain his absence on the ground that "the consciousness of his many crimes, and fear of the wrath of the king, moved him to flee for protection to Sigfrid, the Danish king." If he went there at all, he did not go for those reasons; for fear he knew not, and the fabled crimes of the monks appeared to him and all his countrymen in the light of virtues. No, he was the champion of liberty, another Arminius, implacably hostile to Charles, in whom he saw only the tyrannical enemy of his race. He was a heroic man, strong in ability, resource, and character, of vast influence and idolized by his people; a noble patriot, whose will rose with opposition, and triumphed over misfortune. The annalists, writing in the interest of the reigning dynasty and dipping their pens in gall, describe him as a paragon of wickedness; but this proves his greatness. He was the soul of the bitter and stubborn resistance of his race to Charles, the enemy of their freedom, and to Christianity, which he deemed slavery in disguise.¹

778] For a short time the Saxons kept quiet, but took advantage of the king's absence in Spain, and rose in arms. Wittekind returned and bade them shake off the yoke of servitude to the Franks. They forsook their hostages, their oaths, and their baptism, traversed the length and breadth of their country, expelled the priests, overthrew the crosses, demolished the churches, and destroyed the castles which Frankish zeal had erected within their borders. They marched to the Rhine, and as they went, laid waste with

¹ Annal. Lauresh., Einh.; Poeta Saxo; Vita S. Willehad; Vita S. Liudg.—Pertz.

fire and sword whatever belonged to the Christians. At Deutz they paused and would fain have crossed the river, had they been able; turning south they swept the country as far as the confluence of the Mosel, spread desolation on their path, and in the fury of their revenge spared neither sex nor age even to utter extermination.¹

The king heard the calamitous intelligence in France, and immediately ordered the fleetest of his Austrasian and Alemannian troops to hasten to the Rhine and punish the perfidious and incorrigible pagans, if possible, on Frankish soil. But this was impracticable, for the Saxon raiders had taken the Lahn valley, and were returning to their own country before the pursuing host could come up with them. The terror of their presence spread far and near, and even the monks at Fulda, trembling for their lives, took up the body of St. Boniface, and fled to a safer region.

The Franks had no difficulty in tracking them; overtook them at Baddenfelde on the Eder, a tributary of the Fulda, and gave them battle *in* the river bed, which is quite credible, for the Eder is only a narrow and shallow stream and fordable at all seasons of the year. The annalists chronicle a great Frankish victory, and assert that only a handful of the immense multitude of the enemy escaped destruction. This is rather dubious, and, if it ever was gained, could not have been so signal a success, for the Franks did not continue the pursuit and the result was not satisfactory to Charles.²

The autumnal chase, however, warned the Saxons of the coming storm which burst upon them early in May of the ensuing year, when the king conducted his *heerbann* into their country, conquered their strongholds, and inflicted upon 779] them a stinging defeat at Bocholt in Westphalia, where they had collected in force. The subjugation of the Westphalian Saxons, as well as that of the Angrians and Eastphalians beyond the Weser, is mentioned as the result of this campaign. He spent several months there, and pre-

¹ S. Liudg. apud Baronius.

Fuld.—V. Sturmii, MG. SS. II., p.

² Annal. Lauriss. Einh., Mosell., 376.

pared the way for a firmer establishment of his rule—with 780] partial success, returned the year following with a very large army, and, if the annals report truly, devoted the whole summer to missionary operations. Not a word is said of bloodshed, but we read of multitudes of the Saxons who received Christian baptism, and of the Sclavonian Wends beyond the Elbe who gave in their submission. The savages, who only two years before had glared at Cologne, and spared neither sex nor age in their fierce hatred of Christianity, were so effectually conquered and subdued by the military missionaries that “they forsook their idols, worshipped the true God, and built churches.”¹ One of the annalists sheds light on the subject, for he informs us that, prompted by their “habitual hypocrisy,”² they sought the *benefits* of Christian baptism. The prospect of the final conquest and conversion of the Saxons appeared most promising, but appearances deceive, and they certainly deceived the king. His new converts kept quiet, while the Frankish officers, military, civil, and ecclesiastical, gave glowing accounts of their good behavior.

This state of things had lasted nearly two years. The king, with a view to placing their affairs on a better footing, convened a Diet at the sources of the Lippe, to which all the 782] chieftains were invited. All but Wittekind attended and took part in the deliberations, which resulted in the appointment of Saxon counts over the several districts into which the country was divided, and the promulgation of a series of laws for the government of the people.

Nothing but the presence of the entire military strength of the Franks explains their share in the enactment of measures, which enslaved the Saxons and, if attempted to be enforced, must necessarily provoke the most bitter and determined resistance.

Among other things, the Diet ordered unanimously that Christian churches in course of erection must be held more sacred than the ancient sanctuaries, and set the penalty of

¹ Annal. Lauriss. Lauresh., Mosell., ² *Solita simulatione*.—Annal. Einh. Petav.

death on the following offences: for the burglarious entry or burning of a church; for eating meat in Lent; for homicide; for burning or *eating* human beings; for refusing baptism, and continuance in heathenism; for heathen human sacrifices; for treasonable alliance with the heathens; for violating the oath of allegiance, etc., with the strange proviso, that the capital sentence might be remitted, upon the testimony of a priest that any of the aforesaid offences had been committed in secret, that the criminal had confessed his guilt, and promised to do penance.

The *compulsory* endowment of churches in lands and servants, the payment of tithe to the clergy of property or income, of fines and dues, the compulsory baptism of children within a year from their birth on pain of a fiscal fine ranging from thirty to a hundred and twenty solidi, and the prohibition of public assemblies except by royal command and proclamation of the *missi*, or king's messengers, figure among the *minor* regulations of this terrible instrument.¹

Within a month after the adjournment of the Diet and the dispersion of the *heerbann*, the explanations of the Saxon counts, the attempted execution of the laws by the Frankish clerics, and last, not least, the impassioned comments of Wittekind, kindled the fire of revolt. The occasion of its outbreak remains to be narrated.

The Sorabian Slavonians, who then inhabited the country between the Elbe and the Saale, had taken advantage of the situation, and entered the frontier districts of Thuringia and Saxony on plundering expeditions. The king heard the news after he had crossed the Rhine, and immediately despatched a strong body of Austrasian troops, commanded by the chamberlain Adalgis, the marshal Geilo, and the count-palatine Worado, with orders to raise a Saxon contingent, and chastise the invaders.

On the march they heard the alarming intelligence that the Saxons were in open insurrection, that Wittekind had returned, that the churches were on fire and the mission-

¹ *Capitulatio de partibus Saxonie*. V., 34. See Waitz, in Göttinger Gel. Baluze, I., p. 249; MG. SS. I., 48; Anz. 1869, p. 27.

aries either dead or flying. Deeming the greatest danger to lie in the Saxon country, the Frankish commanders abandoned the movement against the Slavonians and marched against the Saxons. Meanwhile the count Theoderic, a near relative of the king, who upon the first intelligence of the outbreak had hastily collected a force of Riparian Franks, advanced by forced marches to the seat of war, opened communication with the commanders of the Slavonian expedition, and bade them effect a junction with him on the Weser. They met at the base of the Süntel range, which stretches in a westerly direction from Münden to Minden, and, beyond the Weser, to Osnabrück. There they found the Saxons in force, and Wittekind in command. Theoderic pitched his camp on the south side of the Süntel, which separated him from the enemy who had taken a strong position on the north side; assigned the defence of the tract between the river and the mountain to the three royal officers, and ordered a movement, having for its object the capture or destruction of the enemy, in which they were first to aid in surrounding the Saxons, and then, at a given point, co-operate with him in carrying their position.

In spite of the count's warning to observe the utmost caution, they wantonly, and solely, it appears, from motives of jealousy of sharing with him the glory of (what they foolishly fancied) an easy victory, crossed the river, without notifying Theoderic, and following an easterly course, marched round the Süntel, impetuously dashed in among the enemy, as if they were chasing a flying foe, and perished almost to a man.

Only a few escaped, not however to their own camp, but to that of the count Theoderic on the other side of the mountain. . . . The two lieutenants Adalgis and Geilo, four counts, and twenty of the most distinguished and noble officers, fell in the action, besides those of their command who, preferring death to disgrace, shared their fate.²

² Annal. Einh., Lauriss., Fuld., V. Willehadi, c. 6.

The immediate course of the hostile forces is not known; but no other engagement ensued; the Saxons, apprised of the approach of Charles, dispersed, and Wittekind made his way into Denmark.

When the king arrived and heard all that had happened, his anger was excessive. The revolt was bad enough, and the slaughter of his soldiers most galling, especially as no enemy was in sight on whom he might take revenge. But he meant to have it and forthwith took his measures. The Saxon nobles were summoned before him, and commanded on pain of death to name and deliver the promoters of the revolt. They all, with one accord, laid the blame on Wittekind. But as he was beyond reach, the king compelled [782] them to give up all who had responded to his call and were implicated in the insurrection. They were placed before a court-martial and, under the provisions of the bloody laws so recently enacted, found guilty. The royal camp at Verden, on the Aller, was converted into an abattoir, and four thousand five hundred Saxons were, by the king's own order, decapitated in one day.¹

Fortunately for the memory of Charles the annals, which record the fact, do not lay to his charge the predilection for the executioner's axe which fouls the name of Peter the Great, but the contemptible Saxon poet—it is to be hoped only by virtue of poetical license—distinctly affirms that the king himself beheaded them all in one day.²

There are many horrors recorded in history, but hardly one more horrid than that butchery at Verden, which is, and must ever remain, the indelible stain on the name of Charles, and the foulest blot on his life. The Monk of St. Gall makes Otgar tell Desiderius that the Franks had hearts more hard than the steel of their weapons and armor; had he stood that day on the bank of the Aller, he might have said, that Charles had the hardest and most cruel of them all.

The revolt, which Wittekind incited, was justifiable from the pagan standpoint of a free people; the Saxons stood

¹ Annal. Einh., Lauriss., Lauriss. ² Hosque die cunctos rex decollavit una.—Poeta Saxo, s. a.

under arms when the royal troopers made their charge, and they slew them in battle. But after the fight at the Süntel they laid down their arms, and when Charles appeared on the scene, were entirely at his mercy. Unable to vent his wrath on Wittekind and the ringleaders of the revolt, he fell on those four thousand five hundred helpless pagans and butchered them in cold blood.

But why did Wittekind, who certainly defeated the Franks in the fight of the "Dachtelfeld" (that is, the field where he *slapped* them, as the locality is still called), not follow up his advantage, and march against Theoderic? There seems to be but one answer: the Saxons refused to follow his lead, and preferred adhering to their old policy of feigned loyalty in the presence of the king and his army, and of open and destructive revolt after they had left. It was a fatal mistake, for, though much blood remained to be shed, their victory at the Süntel was the beginning of their final overthrow.

As it was, Charles laid waste the country, carried off a multitude of prisoners and returned into Francia.¹ The winter was spent in preparations for a renewal of the struggle both by him and the Saxons. They might arm in secret, but he gave them no time to do much mischief. [783] Early in the spring, and long before he was expected, his army emerged from the forest, and surprised the enemy, who had collected in large force, near Detmold. A battle was fought, in which the Franks scored a great victory, and "many thousands" of the Saxons were slain.² Only a few escaped with their lives. This seems an exaggeration, for Charles was so much weakened himself, that he could not pursue the foe, and had to fall back on Paderborn to await the arrival of the main body of his army. Thus reinforced, he resumed the offensive and moved upon the enemy, who was drawn up on the Hase, a tributary of the Ems; this was a body of Westphalians. A second battle was fought, and again the Saxons were signally defeated; their loss was

¹ Annal. Petav.

² Ann. Einh., Fuld., Mosell., Lauriss.

still greater than before; many thousands of them lay dead on the field, a long train of prisoners went into captivity, and a great quantity of spoil fell into the hands of the victorious Franks. The Saxons, utterly demoralized, were unable to rally that season, or dispute the progress of Charles, who crossed the Weser, laid waste the whole country as far as the Elbe, sowed dragon's teeth against the future, took his measures for the present, "all well disposed and ordained," and returned into Francia.¹ What these dispositions were is not known; perhaps the phrase means only the garrisoning of forts, and possibly the distribution of mounted troops or gendarmes.

At any rate they did not prevent the resumption of hostilities, for part of the Saxons during the winter formed an alliance with the Frisians, and the whole Saxon country was as much in revolutionary commotion as before.

784] But Charles was bent upon its final subjugation, and marched against the doomed people as soon as the roads were passable to his army. After the periodical devastation of Westphalia he went into camp on the Weser at a place called *Huculvi*, supposed to be identical with the modern Petershagen; but as freshets in the river checked his progress in the North, he determined to continue the work of destruction in the eastern parts of the country, and leaving his son Charles, a lad of only thirteen summers, in command of a *scara* for warfare in Westphalia, swept through the territory of the Thuringians to near the confluence of the Saale and the Elbe, made a convention with the natives of the region, of which nothing is known, and returned to beyond the Rhine—not, as had been his wont heretofore, for the year—but only temporarily, in order to make the necessary preparations for a winter campaign. Prince Charles took part in an insignificant cavalry fight which figures in the annals as a victory.²

Late in the year the Frankish army arrived, went into camp on the Emmer, and after New Year the king, with the

¹ Annal. Einh., Lauriss., Fragment in Forsch. VIII., p. 632. ² Annal. Einh., Fuld., Lauriss.

785] royal family, proceeded to the Eresburg and inaugurated the new campaign with a series of raids, conducted partly by himself, partly by others, designed to terrify the enemy, and prevent further insurrections.

It was terrible work; the whole country was laid waste with fire, and every Saxon rebel instantly cut down; the Frankish troopers hunted the wretched people out of their hiding-places, and with such remorseless severity "that the roads were cleansed, and no rebels to be seen."¹

With the exception of a short interval occasioned by the meeting of the Diet at Paderborn, the systematic devastation of the country was continued with unabated violence. The whole region lay open before Charles, records a scribe, and in that part of Saxony he might go without let or hindrance wherever he pleased.² In other words, the country was a wilderness; a famine broke out; and neither forage nor supplies of any kind could be had for many miles around; all military operations were suspended until provisions arrived from beyond the Rhine.

An expedition into the *Bardengau* consummated the subjugation and conversion of its Saxon inhabitants, and led to successful negotiations with Wittekind and Abbio, who were with the Northalbingians beyond the Elbe. Charles sent Saxon ambassadors to the chieftains, bidding them come to him in good faith, nothing doubting.

If he charged them with perfidy, they also put no faith in his promises and tender mercies, and refused to come, not "because the consciousness of their many crimes" filled them with fear, but because they required hostages for their personal safety.

The king acceded to their request, and promised to give them, not improbably in a personal interview with them, when all the details of their projected journey to Francia were arranged.

None can tell by what means he overcame their stubborn resistance; by the suasions of his eloquence or something

¹ Annal. Lauriss., Einh., Fragment, l. c. ² Annal. Lauriss.

else; the conviction of the utter hopelessness of further resistance, or the interposition of Divine Providence. The fact that he overcame it is indisputable; he left Saxony, sent the promised hostages, and soon greeted the illustrious chiefs at Attigny in Francia.

The conversion of Wittekind was a grand and wonderful event. It terminates the first stage of the terrible struggle.

The famous champion swore fealty to Charles, king of the Franks, and fealty in Holy Baptism to the King of the king of the Franks, and of all kings. Charles himself stood sponsor for Wittekind, received him out of the font, in token of his good will loaded him with royal gifts,¹ and named him duke of Saxony, not however as an independent sovereign, but as his vassal. Beyond the undoubted fact, that thenceforth he observed good faith, both as a vassal and a Christian, nothing is known of him in history. Abbio also embraced Christianity, and their example was largely followed by their countrymen. The king was so delighted with his successful missionary operations that he sent a special envoy to Hadrian announcing the conversion of the Saxons, and desiring him to signalize the glorious event

¹ Annal. Mosell. a 785.—I subjoin, as of special interest, the form of words used probably at the baptism of Wittekind, and at that of Saxons generally. It has been assigned to the eighth century; the clause in the third response concerning the Saxon deities may have been added at Fulda where *this* formula probably originated.

FORMULA.

"Forsáchistu diabola? et respondeat: ec forsacho diabola.
end allum diobolgeldae? respondeat: end ec forsacho allum diobolgeldae.
end allum dioboles uuercum? respondeat: end ec forsacho allum dioboles uuercum end uuordum

thunaer ende woden ende sax-note ende allum them unholdum the hira genotas sint.
gelobistu in got alamehtigan fadaer? ec gelobo in got alamehtigan fadaer.
gelobistu in crist godes suno? ec gelobo in crist gotes suno.
gelobistu in halogan gast? ec gelobo in halogan gast."
Capp. ed. Boretius, I., 222, No. 107. A Frankish formula, assigned to 787-813, and of Mayence origin, is given by Müllenhoff and Scherer. *Denkmäler deutscher Poesie und Prosa*, 2 ed., p. 156, No. 52. Cf. *ibidem*, p. 494 sqq.; Waitz, III., 2 ed., p. 161;—Abel-Simson, *l. c.* I., 499 sq.

by the appointment of a special thanksgiving. Hadrian thereupon set forth a circular letter requiring all Christendom to observe, for the first time in the history of the Church, a *triduum* of prayers, that is, a litany or procession extended over three days.¹

The appearance of Wittekind in this momentous struggle resembles that of a new comet, bursting on our vision in all the splendor of its glory, and then vanishing in the hidden depths of infinite space.

Beyond the meagre details already familiar to us we search in vain for other authentic information. As to his origin we only know that he was one of the Westphalian nobles;² but nothing else. It is also certain that he was the soul of the stubborn resistance of his countrymen, and at a critical moment embraced Christianity.

After his baptism the curtain of history falls; for all other accounts of him, in annals and chronicles of later date, are legendary or mythical. Such is the story of his hot zeal as a Christian convert. More than thirty years before his conversion the fierce pagans of Frisia massacred Boniface and his companions. A legend makes Wittekind the avenger of the outrage in the next generation, invading Frisia, turning the fertile regions of the Ostergau and Westergau into a howling wilderness, and putting all the inhabitants to the sword.

Legend names him as founder of the cathedral at Enger, in Westphalia, Gerold, a duke of Suabia, as his murderer, and the same church as the place of his burial, adding that his bones lay there undisturbed until the time of Henry the Fowler, when they were removed to Paderborn.

Still later his tomb was shown at Enger, with an inscription in which he is called Wittekind, the son of Warnechinus, King of the Angrians.

The year of his death also is uncertain. There is no record of his canonization, although the people honored him as a saint, the Church commemorated him on January 7th,

¹ Ep. Hadriani ad domnum Carol. apud Bouquet, t. v., p. 568.

² Unum ex primoribus Westfalaorum.—Annal. Einh.

and the miracles wrought by his relics are attested in the inscription on his tomb.¹

The lustre attaching to the name of Wittekind is remarkable. "Several families of Germany hold him for their ancestor, and some French genealogists have, without solid ground, discovered in him the grandfather of Robert the Strong, great grandfather of Hugh Capet.² His name, like that of Roland, Arthur, and other illustrious defeated ones, lay forgotten until poetry visited the battle-fields to rescue them from oblivion, showing that the imagination of the world is generous, and not always on the side of the conqueror.³

The imperial house of the Ottos is believed to be descended from Wittekind. At any rate his namesake, Widukind the Saxon historian, affirms that Mathilda, the consort of Henry I., and mother of Otto the Great, was a lineal descendant of the famous Saxon chieftain.⁴

Legend also comes in to surround him with a halo of glory. At Easter of 785, it says, Wittekind in beggar's guise, or a minstrel's, found his way into the Frankish camp by stealth, to spy out its arrangements. Wandering through the camp he passed the tent in which Charles attended mass; an irresistible impulse guided his steps, and he joined the throng of worshippers; the strangeness and solemnity of the scene held him spellbound, and he wondered what it might mean. The priest was elevating the host, and that self-same moment he saw therein the figure of a child of unearthly and dazzling beauty.

A wondrous change came over him, which he sought to hide from those around him, but was not able. Disguise could not deceive the Franks, who soon detected in the mendicant minstrel the famous chieftain and took him to Charles. He told what he had seen, desired and craved

¹ Abel-Simson, *l. c.*, 2 ed. I., 506 sqq., where all the authorities are carefully enumerated.

² Guizot, *Hist. of France*, v. i., p. 218.

³ Ozanam, *La Civilisation chrétienne chez les Francs*.

⁴ MG. SS. III., 431, 455. Adami Gesta Hammab., etc. *Ibid.* VII., 322; Waitz, *Jahrb. Heinrich's I.*, 3 ed. Exc. I., 179 sqq.

leave to enter the Church; and when it was granted, the force of his own example and exhortation bore excellent fruit in the number of his Saxon brethren, who came to be baptized and enrolled as soldiers and servants of Christ.

All Christendom might exult with the pope and Charles in the June litanies, poetry and legend irradiate the conversion of the Saxons with heavenly glory, but the bitter reality of their sad lot remained unchanged. The summer solstice came, but the rays of that sun did not quicken the fields into verdure and fertility; the lands far and near lay waste, the angel of death had swept over them, and their sons were not.

The whole country, by the law of conquest, became the property of the victorious Charles, who forthwith began to parcel it out among the abbots and clerics in his train.

If legend does not mislead, the blood of more than two hundred thousand Saxons changed the very color of the soil, and the brown clay of the Saxon period gave way to the red earth of Westphalia. Thus fertilized, the naturally rich land, which, in the language of Holy Scripture, flowed with milk and honey, brought forth more bountifully and soon yielded copious harvests to the clerical and military occupants of the next generation.

The only voice raised on behalf of humanity and the religion of Jesus Christ, as now understood, is Alcuin's; at least it is the only one which has come down to us.

His views, as those of an earnest, thoughtful, and temperate man, stand in such marked and honorable contrast to the universal and fulsome applause with which the pope,¹ the hierarchy, and obsequious vassals of the Frankish ruler, greeted his savage processes for the conversion of the Saxons, that it were a crying wrong to omit their reproduction.

He wrote, though at a later date, that preaching the faith, the administration of baptism, and the living exhibition of the precepts of Christ, should ever go hand in hand. Without such concurrence the hearer could not be led to salvation.

¹ See note I, p. 123.

He describes faith as a voluntary thing, superior to coercion; though a man be forced to baptism, yet would it not avail to faith. Adults must of their own will and sincerity express their belief and hope of salvation; a hypocritical profession of faith could not save; it was therefore incumbent upon preachers to instruct their pagan hearers by gentleness, and give them wise counsel.

"Let but the same pains be taken," he writes,¹ "to preach the easy yoke and light burthen of Christ to the obstinate people of the Saxons as are had to collect the tithes from them, or to punish the least transgression of the laws imposed on them, and perhaps they would no longer be found to repel baptism with abhorrence; let the missionaries after the apostolical example acquire a competent knowledge of the faith, let them be *preachers*, not *plunderers*, let them but rely on the gracious providence of Him who says: 'Carry neither scrip nor purse,' etc."

In an epistle to Charles² he unfolds with outspoken candor, and not without pointed sharpness, the principles on which, in his opinion, the Saxons ought to be treated. All threats ought for a time to be suspended, that they might not become inveterate in their hostile feelings to the Frankish empire, and afraid to enter into any compromise whatsoever, but be encouraged with hope until by salutary counsel they could be brought back to the ways of peace.

He likewise testifies that the terror of the headsman's axe, and bribery, were the means used in the conversion of the Saxons and Frisians. Those who refused baptism were sent to the block; those who received it were rewarded with gifts; and in the case of prisoners of war, who forsook paganism, it was enacted that they should be "restored to the liberty they had forfeited by the fate of arms, and freed from the obligation of paying tribute."³

¹ Alcuini Ep. 104, ed. Quercetan., *De gestis Anglorum*, l. I. c. IV.—*Capit. Reg. Franc.*, I., 246, 252. See p. 1647.

² Ibid. Ep. 80.

³ Alcuin apud Wilh. Malmesbury,

De gestis Anglorum, l. I. c. IV.—*Capit. Reg. Franc.*, I., 246, 252. See p. 112, and note 1.

CHAPTER IV.

SAXON WAR, TO ITS CLOSE.

Reduction of the Welatabians.—Insurrections.—Camp at Lüne.—Deportation and pacification.—Wigmodia.—Further deportations.—New laws.—*Heristelle*.—Revolt of the Northalbingians.—Abodrite aid.—Counsel of Alcuin and Angilbert.—Camps at Paderborn and Hollenstedt.—The hunt.—Final pacification.

THE political necessity of the conversion of Wittekind may detract from its spontaneousness, but its wisdom cannot be doubted; it bore excellent fruit; for seven years the Saxons kept quiet, and outwardly submitted to Frankish rule; they went to church, ate no meat in Lent, paid tithe, had their children christened, forsook cannibalism and other heathenish practices, and even rendered military service in the king's wars with the Welatabians and the Avars.

789] An expedition against the former was undertaken with the express concurrence of the Saxons, who, like other members of the Frankish empire, participated in the annual assemblies which deliberated, among other matters, upon peace and war.

The Wilzen, as the Franks called them, or the Welatabians, as they called themselves, were perhaps the most powerful of the Sclavonian tribes, and at that time occupied the southern coast of the Baltic; their immediate neighbors were the Abodrites, old allies of the Franks, whom they harassed by continual raids. Their obstinate defiance and contempt of the king's warnings to desist required chastisement, and occasioned the war.

Charles entered the Saxon country, and with a Saxon contingent as part of his army, marched to the Elbe and pitched his camp. The troops crossed the river on two bridges which he caused to be constructed; one of which

was taken apart, but the other, strongly fortified and guarded, kept standing. Here the army was reinforced by a body of Frisians who, under Frankish escort, came sailing up the Havel, and auxiliary bodies of Sorabians and Abodrites.

This formidable host carried fire and sword into the hostile country, advanced to the Peene, and soon encountered the enemy, who seem to have avoided a battle, and retreated before the Franks; some say that the latter made an attack, but that the enemy, unable to offer resistance, laid down their arms. Their aged king Dragowit, accompanied by his son and people, issued forth from his city, gave hostages, and swore fealty to Charles. His example was followed by all the nobles and chieftains; the whole nation recognized the supremacy of the conqueror, became tributary to him, and evinced so conciliatory a spirit that he maintained the venerable king in his position, and took steps looking to the introduction of the Christian religion.¹

It was noticed that the Saxon troops were sullen, and that "their obedience lacked sincerity and devotion." This was doubtless correct, and not confined to this campaign. Intimidation might keep them down, but could not heal their wounds; the old spirit of liberty slumbered in their breast, and nursed their deep and unquenchable hatred. After the lapse of a few years their long-cherished desire of shaking off the galling yoke of the Franks burst forth in open revolt. They conducted secret negotiations with tribes inimical to the Franks, formed alliances with the Frisians and Wends, and, at a seasonable period, when Charles had his hands full with the Avars, struck a blow for their freedom.

792, July 6] A detachment of Frankish troops, under orders to pass through Frisian and Saxon territory by water, was entering the mouth of the Elbe, when suddenly a body of Saxons appeared in sight, bore down upon the Franks, and killed them almost to a man. This was the signal for a wide-spread movement directed against whatever bore the

¹ Annal. Einh., Lauriss., Fuld., Naz.,—Ep. Alcuini (ed. Jaffé), 13.—Vita Caroli, cc. 12, 15.

name of Frank, or was identified with his domination. They shook off the fetters of Christianity and returned to paganism, demolished the churches, drove away, seized, or put to death the priests, and undid, as they were able, the work of pacification. Similar scenes were enacted in Frisia and within a year the revolt had become general.²

While these outrages desolated the maritime regions of the Saxon country, Saxon and Frisian contingents formed part of the Frankish army in Pannonia, and there is no evidence that they failed in their duty. Count Theoderic, who commanded them, and took a distinguished part in the campaign, at its close led them back to their own region, and disbanding them, announced his intended return in the spring for the purpose of again conducting them against the Avars. But the Saxons had enough of the *heerbann* and its burdens; separation from their families, losses at home, the cost of their own outfit and supply of provisions for three months, the hardships and perils of the long march, to say nothing of actual warfare against a savage foe, were freely discussed that winter, and they resolved to stay at home; if they must fight, they preferred fighting for their own independence to fighting the battles of the hated tyrant and implacable enemy of their race.

In the spring the count returned at the head of a Frankish corps, and would fain have gathered the Saxons, led them through Frisia to the Rhine, and thence to the king's army at Ratisbon, when the Saxons fell upon him in the Riustri-Gau, near the mouth of the Weser, and annihilated his command.³

Intelligence of the disaster reached the king at Ratisbon; he gave up the Pannonian campaign, and waited for further tidings from Saxony. The revolt grew apace, and required his personal presence; but the expedition, designed to quell it, did not take place until the following year.

794] The army moved in two columns; one, led by the king in person, marched, from Frankfort, due north; the other,

² Annal. Lauriss., S. Amandi; ³ Annal. Einh., Poeta Saxo. Cf. Lauresh., Mosell. Böhmer, *l. c.*, No. 308, b.

commanded by his son, Prince Charles, crossed the Rhine at Cologne, and advanced on an easterly line. The Saxons were posted in force on the Sendfeld, midway between Paderborn and the Eresburg, and the streams of the Diemel and the Alme, and prepared to give battle—until they discovered that they were completely surrounded. Whatever hope of success might have deluded them before, it now forsook them; they laid down their arms, gave hostages, and promised, under oath, to be faithful to Christianity and to the king. Charles accepted their submission and that of their allies, attempted to restore order, put them on their good behavior, ordered the priests to return to their posts, peaceably disbanded the disarmed warriors, and, satisfied with his bloodless victory, retraced his steps into Francia.¹

The situation, however, was far from satisfactory, and in the course of the winter information was received that the Saxons, true to their habitual perfidy, were seeking pretexts for breaking their engagements both with respect to Christianity and to the king; it was charged, that they refused military service and withheld the promised *solatium*, or indemnity, in which they were held. On the other hand, the Saxons heard the rumor that the king intended to overrun them with war, and that the Abodrites were expected to co-operate with him and invade their country.

795] A new expedition against the rebellious Saxons was undertaken. The king at the head of a large army marched into their country, and had the gratification of receiving on the march a body of loyal Saxons,² which joined the army. In the Bardengau a halt was ordered, and a camp formed at Lüne on the Ilmenau, south of Bardowick. At this point his allies, the Abodrites, were expected to join the expedition. He waited awhile, but waited in vain; suddenly news was brought that his vassal, Prince Witzan, in moving his Abodrites across the Elbe, had fallen into an ambush, set by the Northalbingian Saxons, and been slain. The king's

¹ Annal. Einh.; Lauriss.; Chronic. Moiss. ² Annal. Lauresh.

indignation was intense, nor was he slow in chastising the offenders.

All the Saxons had been commanded to come to Lüne, and came in great numbers; they made their humble submission, confessed the guilt of their repeated defection, promised amendment, and avowed their readiness of doing whatsoever the king might enjoin.

But the Northalbingians, dreading the consequences of the ambush, together with the inhabitants of the swampy regions, and of Wigmodia, were conspicuous by their absence.

It follows from these statements that the king's authority was now established throughout Saxony except in the districts on the banks of the Elbe. Charles ordered the devastation of the entire disaffected region, but accepted the offer of the professedly loyal parts of giving hostages for their future good conduct to an extent which they certainly did not expect. He took one-third of the entire male population of the country as hostages and commanded them to be removed into Francia.³ That measure, he thought, would cure them of their treachery; but such was the invincible and inveterate perfidy of the race, writes one of the early annalists, that no sooner had the king left, than they fell to breaking the covenant.⁴

The official number of the hostages thus removed is set down at 7,070;⁵ it might seem small, if it represented the whole of Saxony; but it clearly refers only to those who that year had violated their oaths, and designates indiscriminately nobles (*edlinge*) and the common people.

The king, writes a Christian author, refrained from the effusion of blood, and, confiding in the promises of the penitent people, rejoiced that so great and happy a result had been achieved by "peaceful" measures;⁴ these, however, might have been more pacific and humane, for another Christian scribe records, that not less than thirty thousand warriors were put to the sword.⁵

¹ Annal. Einh., Lauresh., Xanth., Max., al.

² Annal. Xanth.

³ Annal. Alam. cont. Murb.

⁴ Annal. Lauresh.

⁵ Ademar, ap. Duchesne II., 78.

Convinced that the time had come for the final subjugation of the country, Charles undertook yet another expedition in the following year, on which he was accompanied by his sons Charles and Louis. It was substantially a repetition of the same ruthless destruction in all the disaffected districts which had not yet felt the ravages of the war. He swept through the country north of the Lippe, crossed the Weser, re-entered Wigmodia, and left desolation behind him. **796]** He took hostages, plundered the people of their portable property, applied the torch to the rest, dragged into captivity a number of men, women and children, and returned, laden with "an innumerable multitude" of spoil, "without any loss," and "prosperously" into Francia.¹

In spite of this prosperity, and the suasions of his army, the unconverted Saxons resisted his authority, and had retired to this Wigmodia, already twice mentioned in recent paragraphs. It was an almost inaccessible region, situated between the mouths of the Weser and the Elbe. Protected from the sea by lofty dikes, and intersected by numerous canals and ditches not more than a hundred paces apart, it presented almost insuperable difficulties to military operations. In wet weather the roads were impassable. In that retreat the rebels had thoroughly intrenched themselves behind formidable earthworks, and maintained the defensive; they had also built a strong fortress, and until then compelled the king to content himself with ravaging the outlying regions.

797] But now he came in good earnest, during the dry season, and with all his resources. He led a large army of Franks, his best troops, ordered a fleet of large vessels to join him by water, and, for the special purpose in hand, carried a large number of others, each composed of four sections, which were transported across the country. Two horses or mules sufficed to draw one of the sections, and as the sappers carried the requisite tools, nails, pins, pitch and the like, ready prepared, the boats could be put together where they

¹ Annal. Mosell., Lauresh., Lauriss.; al. Petav.

were needed, and at the shortest notice. The army, supported by the fleet, broke through the fort, and thus entered the *Gau*.

The work of devastation began; his soldiers had orders to demolish every house and wall, and set on fire whatever would take the flame. The people, with all they had, sought the most inaccessible regions, but Charles forced his way through the swamps, crossed the canals, and never rested until he reached the uttermost limit of the country, the land of Hadeln, between the mouths of the Weser and the Elbe.

Then at last the unfortunate people came forth from "all ends and corners" to which they had fled, took the inevitable oaths, surrendered at discretion, and gave as many hostages as he required. Two years before the king was satisfied with taking every third *man* in the revolted districts; now nothing would satisfy him but the third *man with his wife and children*. These he sent away into Francia, and gave their homesteads to loyal Franks. The same policy was pursued in the case of the Frisians.¹

The subjugation of the entire country, from the Lippe to the Elbe, and from the confines of Thuringia to the North Sea, being now nominally completed, the question of the permanent occupation of the country, together with the treatment to be meted out to the conquered people had to be decided, and for that purpose Charles convened a Diet at Aix-la-Chapelle, and repaired to that city. The Diet was composed of bishops, abbots, and counts, together with representative Westphalian, Angrian, and Eastphalian Saxons, and unanimously enacted the instrument known as the *Capitulare Saxonicum* of 797.²

It is a vast improvement, in point of humanity, upon the sanguinary bill set forth before. The capitula are only eleven in number, and, on the whole, place the Saxons upon a footing of equality with the Franks; they repeal, by silence, the obnoxious capital crimes, and substitute pecuniary fines, to wit, that the *königsbann* of sixty solidi be paid

¹ Annal. Lauriss., major., minor., ² Baluze, *l. c. t. i.*, p. 275. Lauresh.

alike by Saxon or Frank for the crimes of disturbing the peace of churches, widows, and orphans, of rape, arson, acts of violence, and refusal of military service (c. 1).

They likewise provide, in a more merciful spirit, that it shall be optional with the king, in the case of criminals, who under Saxon law have forfeited their lives, to commute the sentence of death into one of banishment, on the principle that though politically dead in their own country, they might (probably with a new name) be colonized elsewhere within or without the limits of the Frankish dominions.

Armed with these new laws, which seem to breathe the gentle spirit of Alcuin, and Queen Liutgard, Charles, accompanied by his entire court and an army, returned into Saxony, in order to terminate, if possible, the regulations necessary to the pacification of the country. It was late in the season¹ when the royal camp was pitched on the Weser, near the mouth of the Diemel; the army was required to erect wooden barracks, and the *place* where they stood, as well as the purpose for which they were used, induced Charles to name the spot *Heristelle*, that is, the place of the army; it survives to this day in the Westphalian "*Herstelle*";² there is no doubt that he was guided in the choice of the name by **797**] his ancestral *Heristal* on the Meuse, for we read, that he called it *Niwi Heristalli* (*i. e.*, New Heristal), and that others speak of "Saxon Heristall."³

That camp, however, was used only by a part of the army, enough for the protection and circumstance of the royal court; the great bulk of the host went into winter quarters throughout the region—possibly in more distant localities.⁴ Its situation in the depth of a Westphalian forest was not too remote for diplomatic intercourse with representatives of distant potentates. It was enlivened by the arrival of an Avar embassy bearing rich presents for the

¹ Novembrio mense mediante.—
Ann. Lauriss.

² In the Prussian province of Westphalia, W. of Karlshafen, dist. of Minden, in the circuit of Höxter.

³ Annal. Lauriss., Mosell.

⁴ Annal. Einh. "per totam Saxoniam in hiberna divisit."

king, and that of an ambassador from Alonso II., king of Galicia and Asturia, who brought a most timely and useful token of affectionate and thoughtful regard in the shape of a magnificent tent.

The presence of the royal family, including that of the king's sons, the kings of Italy and Aquitaine, added splendor to the romantic beauty of *Herstelle*, and made the camp as unlike an ordinary camp as possible. Charles had come for work, but there was abundant opportunity for diversion. The pleasures of the chase, of sleighing and skating, alternated with military duties,¹ and the more genial pastime of music and literature. Letters also came, and here is one from Alcuin to the queen:

"To the most noble lady Leutgarda, in the love of Christ greeting. I entreat you, if it be the king's pleasure to prolong his stay in Saxony, to let me know how he and the Christian army do fare and when he expects to return. Pray tell me also all about your winter residence, and in which palace it has been decided to spend the winter.

"As for you, most noble lady, I rejoice that you ever set unto all the most shining example of a most virtuous life acceptable unto God, and that you are praised in word and beloved in heart by all who know you.

"May God of his mercy advance you to ever-increasing honors until you are worthy of passing from the happiness of earthly prosperity to the blessedness of eternal life in heaven. May you live and flourish in all virtues in Christ Jesus."²

In another letter of his addressed to the king, he begs him to diversify the horrid clash of arms and the shrill notes of the trumpet with the sweeter melody of poetry and song, and thereby counteract the fierce motions of his warriors, as needing the softer influences of vocal and instrumental music to assuage their natural ferocity.³

Christmas came and passed away; the Saxons saw how

¹ A large stone on the top of a bluff is indicated as the spot from which Charles inspected the troops.

² Monum. Alcuinian, p. 376:

³ Ep. Alc., No. 100 (ed. Jaffé).

798] the Franks kept Lent, and Charles was unremitting in his efforts for the disposition of their affairs.¹ He preferred the peaceable solution of still impending troubles on the part of the unconverted, intractable, and rebellious Saxons beyond the Elbe, the *Nordliudi*, as they were called, and sent *missi* to them to administer justice.

About Easter these Nordliudi, incensed at the persistent missionary zeal, it would seem, of the *missi*, fell upon them, and put some of their number to death. The movement was general, and the infuriated pagans even laid violent hands on Count Gottschalk, the king's ambassador to Denmark. He was on his way back to Charles, and obnoxious to them, it is thought, on account of his mission, the nature of which is not known, but which they doubtless construed as inimical to themselves; at any rate they seized and slew him. Some of the *missi* escaped death, but owed their lives less to the mercy than to the cupidity of the rebels, who expected and exacted a rich ransom for their delivery. The ransom was paid; still others, more fortunate than they, found means of making their way to the king and informing him of what had occurred.²

The Northalbingians raised the standard of revolt at a time when lack of forage prevented the army, which was largely composed of cavalry, from leaving winter quarters. The commissariat stores were scanty; the whole country, far and near, had been devastated, and until fresh supplies from beyond the Rhine came in, the army must remain idle. Until they arrived the rebels might breathe freely, but the tempest, though deferred, would overtake them soon enough.

Among those who carried tidings of the revolt into the royal camp was a certain Richard, a Christian Saxon and brother of Richolf, one of the victims. As soon as he heard of the massacre he hastened forth to inform the king; during his absence the murderers of the *missi* seized his wife, and robbed her of the little she had left. Richard was a plucky fellow and succeeded in setting her free. This inci-

¹ Annal. Lauriss.

² Annal. Lauriss., Einh. Poeta Saxo.

dent is mentioned in a petition addressed, many years later, by his son to the emperor Louis, setting forth the additional detail that their neighbors, at the outbreak of the revolt, plundered the houses of those whose loyalty to the king and fidelity to Christ were peculiarly odious to them.¹

Charles was very angry, and ordering the camp at Herstelle to be struck, moved north, and halted at Minden on the Weser. There the necessary dispositions were made in virtue of which he conducted in person a large army through the country between the Weser and the Elbe, wasted it with fire and sword,² advanced to Bardowick, received the submission of the people, seized a number of the most intractable nobles, and took as many hostages as he pleased.³ The Northalbingians, as might be expected, were most defiant, and elated by the massacre of the royal messengers,⁴ prepared for desperate resistance. While Charles was engaged 798] with the pacification of Saxon Mesopotamia, his allies, the Abodrites, doubtless in conformity with his directions, made a movement against the Northalbingians, and took them from the rear. The whole of their army, nominally commanded by Thrasco, their prince, but under the direction of able Frankish generals, and with the co-operation of a body of Frankish troops, entered⁵ and ravaged the hostile country. The Northalbingians collected their forces, and encountered the invading host at Suentana,⁶ identified as the Zventinefeld on the Schwentine.⁷ A fierce battle was fought, in which the Northalbingians were routed with great loss. According to the credible report of the *missus* Eboris, who commanded the right wing of the Abodrites, four thousand of the enemy fell at the first onset.⁸ Panic-struck they fled for their lives; still, although many more

¹ Epist. Mogunt. 4.—Jaffé, Bibl. III., 320.

² Annal. Lauriss., Petav., Alamann. c., Einh.

³ Annal. Lauresh., S. Amandi, Lauriss.

⁴ Annal. Lauriss., Einh.

⁵ Annal. Lauresh., Einh. The

latter make the N. attack the Abodrites.

⁶ See Mühlbacher—Böhmer, *l. c.* p. 137. Some, but I think wrongly, identify it with the modern Schwante on the Warnow.

⁷ It flows into the bay of Kiel.

⁸ Annal. Lauriss., Einh.

were cut down by their pursuers, the flying foe not only reached a place of safety, but was strong enough to discuss terms of peace.¹ The Frankish accounts, therefore, seem to be exaggerated.

It is difficult to explain why Charles did not follow up his advantage; he marched from Bardowick to the confines of the Wendish country in the *Gau* of Norththuringia, and seems to have contented himself with giving audience to a deputation of Abodrites, and extolling their merits in terms of unbounded admiration.²

Thus ended that year's work. The contemporary records are meagre, singularly vague, and convey no clear idea of the nature of the pacific measures or the warlike operations set in motion for the final conquest of the unhappy country, and the conversion of its still more unfortunate people from revolt and paganism to loyalty and Christianity. We catch a glimpse of the true condition of the country at this time from an epistle of Alcuin's, in which he urges the king by all means to stay the effusion of blood and make peace with the Saxons, and recommends a policy of conciliation.³ In one passage he expresses doubt if Saxony was really worthy of becoming a country chosen by God, because a number of Saxons who had left it had turned out good Christians, while those who stayed at home persisted in paganism.⁴

Unless we have misread or misunderstood the meaning of the good Alcuin, he seems to have advocated deportation as the best means of terminating the Saxon affair; at any rate, the king believed in its efficacy as one means, while he disdained not the more martial counsel of others, for instance, that of Angilbert, who, adverting to his departure for Saxony in the next year, plainly unfolds the purpose of the expedition, as intended "to subjugate the rebellious people and cut off the savage race with cold steel."⁵

The customary national muster took place at Lippeham,

¹ Annal. Lauriss., Einh. See H. v. Sybel, *Kleine hist. Schriften*, III., 50.

² Et honoravit eos dominus rex ut digni erant mirifice.—Annal. Lauresh.

³ See p. 126.

⁴ The same epistle—No. 114 in Jaffé's edition.

⁵ Angilb. *Carmen*. v., 340.

and the army, increased by Aquitanian auxiliaries, which King Louis had been commanded to send to the Rhine,¹ marched to Paderborn. There, on that natural camping ground, Charles pitched his military city, remaining in camp for the purpose of entertaining Pope Leo, but ordering his son Charles, with half the army, into the interior of the country. The prince entered the Bardengau, and there conducted negotiations with the Welatabians and Abodrites, besides receiving the submission of many Northalbingian Saxons.

The pacification seems to have been conducted on the Alcuinian plan, for the annals record that the king on his return carried off a multitude of Saxons, with their wives and children, into banishment, and that the prince also returned in great triumph with a similar train, presumably from the Bardengau; temporarily, therefore, the Saxon war was ended. The lands of the dispossessed and exiled pagans were confiscated, and, by royal command, distributed, in reward for military services, among the faithful lieges of Charles, and in recompense of efficient missionary labors, and prayers offered, among the bishops, priests, and abbots in his train.²

These beneficiaries kept Frisia and Saxony, within the limits named, in good order for several years to come, but the Northalbingians beyond the Elbe maintained a stubborn resistance. An army of Francised Saxons, but doubtless **802**] under Frankish officers, was ordered to devastate their country. The raid was made, but seems to have been a failure, since the annals omit to record a success; their silence is always suspicious.³

Two years later, however, Charles, now emperor, determined to consummate the final, total, and absolute subjugation of the entire country. After the necessary preparations, the *heerbann* assembled at Lippspringe. A large **804**] army was directed to the Elbe, and Charles went into camp at Hollenstedt, south of Harburg.⁴

¹ Vita Hlud. c. 9.

² Annal. Lauriss.; Einh.; Lauresh.; Petav.; Chron. Moiss.

³ Annal. Einh.; Enh. Fuld.

⁴ Annal. Mett.; Chron. Moiss.

His arrival there in imperial state, with his family, was followed by that of the princes and chieftains of his allies the Abodrites, who laid their offerings at his feet, and invoked his counsel in the regulation of their domestic affairs. The richest gifts were presented by Thrasco, the hero of the Zventinefeld, and the most powerful of their number. Charles accepted the gifts and, in recognition of his superior merit, instituted him King of the Abodrites.¹

Then he announced the plan of the campaign. In order to understand it, we should remember that the rebellious districts lay substantially within the lines of an irregular parallelogram, having for its base a line drawn from Bremen to Hamburg, and for its northern limit the course of the Eider. The River Elbe ran through it diagonally in a northwesterly direction, so that the entire region was enclosed on three sides by water. The country of the Abodrites was situated on the right bank of the Elbe and immediately contiguous to that of the Northalbingians, who occupied the modern district of Holstein.

The imperial plan provided for the division of the army into a number of sections, and their invasion of a corresponding number of regions of the infected district, with orders to sweep them, and hunt down, seize, and drive out all the inhabitants. To the Franks was assigned the duty of doing this work on the left bank of the Elbe, and to the Abodrites that of performing the same operations on the right, while with a view to stimulating the zeal of these allies they were promised beforehand the country of the Northalbingians as the guerdon of their exertions.

The plan, which in some respects resembled that of "netting," so much in vogue among the Persians, seemed in others to be an adaptation of a rabbit hunt, in which the Saxons represent the rabbits, the Franks and their allies, the ferrets. It was immediately and successfully carried into effect; the Frankish raiding expeditions entered the cantons of Wigmodia, Hostingabi, and Rosogabi, and others

¹ Annal. Mett.; Lobiens.; Chron. Moiss.; cf. Annal. Einh. a. 817.

besides, while the Sclavonian Abodrites fell upon the country of the Northalbingians.

The Saxons, without all military organization, were at home on their farms, or concealed in their burrows, and **804**] utterly helpless. The more martial Northalbingians might have roused themselves to energetic resistance, if the expected aid of Gottfried, king of the Danes, who lay with a strong armament off the neighboring coast of Sleswig, had been available to them; but it failed them, and they were as much at the mercy of the Abodrites, as their brothers beyond the river at that of the Franks.

They had no escape; they must either perish in the sea, or surrender. Overwhelmed by numbers the miserable and defenceless pagans were driven from their homes, hunted out of their hiding-places, and soon the entire population, men, women, and children, was led at the point of the spear to the imperial presence, and thence dispersed throughout the Frankish dominions.² Not less than ten thousand met that fate, but that number is doubtless far short of the truth.³

The statement of one authority³ that this terrible measure was executed "without war" is flatly contradicted by that of another, "that an indefinite number were put to death;"⁴ but no one may doubt the evangelical accuracy of a third, that it was accomplished without any hurt to the imperial army.⁵

It is unnecessary to speculate on the spirit in which it was performed, since veracious documentary evidence fully reveals the fact that the raiders were men of brutal violence, without discrimination, who drove away whomsoever they met or found, the loyal with the rebel, and confiscated alike the possessions of Christians and pagans.

In the next reign, for instance, a number of Wigmodians appeared before the imperial commissioners complaining that though they always were loyal to Charles, yet had

² Annal. Einh., Metten.; Enh. Fuld., *al.*

³ Vita Caroli, c. 7.

³ Annal. Lauriss. min.

⁴ Annal. S. Amandi.

⁵ Annal. Mett.

their possessions been seized and confiscated. Upon thorough scrutiny it appeared that their allegations were true, and thereupon the confiscated possessions were restored to them.¹

Even the Saxon Richard, a Christian, and in the service of Charles, a man of undoubted and self-sacrificing loyalty and devotion, suffered most grievously at the hands of the raiders. After the plucky recovery of his wife he succeeded in reaching his maternal inheritance in the canton of Merstem, situated between the Leine and the Süntel. That district also was doomed, and its population driven away. The hapless Richard, with his wife and children, were sent from place to place, and Richard died in banishment, or as his son expresses himself in a petition to Louis the Pious, "My father was removed from this light, and my mother only together with my sister and myself are left, and by the mercy of God survive to this day." Nevertheless we have not yet been able to recover our paternal inheritance."³

It is to be hoped that Louis was not slow in ordering its restoration, and rewarding the survivors for Richard's devotion to his father.

The records do not name the localities to which the ejected and dispossessed Saxons were transported. Einhard says that Charles settled them, with their wives and children, in many different bodies, here and there in Gaul and Germany. This is rather vague information, and the term "Germany", must be understood as comprehending the "marches." In a general way it is established that Charles had the habit of sending many Saxon hostages and captives to Frankish churches and monasteries with a view to their education as monks or priests. Many such are mentioned in connection with the monastery of Corbie on the Somme,⁵ of which his cousin Adalhard was abbot; others

¹ Simson, *Jahrbücher*, p. 304, citing Sickel, and Wilmans.

² See p. 136.

³ Jaffé, III., 319 sqq.; compare the list in MG., Leges, I., 89, which

seems to contain the name of the said Richard.

⁴ Vita Caroli, c. 7.

⁵ Translatio S. Viti; Jaffé, I., 6, 7.

are spoken of as under the care of the bishops of Würzburg, Constance, Augsburg, and Mayence, the archbishop of Rheims, the abbot of Reichenau, and sundry Alemannian nobles. The first and second bishops of Paderborn were Saxons, the one a hostage, the other a noble.¹

The chronicles of St. Denis make the Brabants and Flemish Saxons, and say that they spoke the Saxon dialect,² and a number of archæologists refer, but not on convincing grounds, the occurrence of names like Sachsenhausen, etc., to settlements incident upon the final deportation of the Saxons.³

Thus cruelly and ingloriously ended the Saxon war, "on the terms offered by the king," and accepted by the Saxons.

But is this statement of his biographer entitled to respect? He adds that these terms were: "renunciation of their national religious customs, and the worship of devils, acceptance of the sacraments of the Christian faith and religion, and union with the Franks to form one people."⁴

They were accepted by those who escaped the sword, but not by those who were driven forth into the living death of a nameless exile; these last had no choice left to them.

"Charles," writes one of the chroniclers, "returned with triumphal rejoicing into Francia."⁵ He might exult in the consummation of his purpose, and riding through the desolated country, denuded of its inhabitants, past the ruins of their former idolatry, over the fields fertilized with their blood, think what his grandson Nithard the historian set down in writing: that "the savage and iron hearts of the Franks and barbarians, which the Romans sought in vain to subdue, had been curbed by the moderated terror of his indomitable will."⁶

"Moderated terror" may be a pardonable euphemism

¹ Transl. S. Liborii, cc. 5, 6. MG. SS. IV., 151.

² Chron. de S. Denis, Bouquet V., 252.

³ See Waitz, III., 136. Nos. 2, 3; Eckhart, *Franc. or.* II., 35.

⁴ Vita Caroli, c. 7.

⁵ Chron. Moiss.

⁶ Hist. I., 1.—MG. SS. II., 651.

for copious bloodshed and adamant cruelty, to which must be added the bribery, which even Alcuin admits.¹

By such means he conquered and converted the Saxons. But neither their conquest nor their conversion redounds to his honor. The Saxon war was conducted with almost unparalleled ferocity; the twenty years which separate the massacre of Verden from the final removal of the people, are years of brutal violence and oppression, unrelieved by heroism, or even strategical skill on the part of the Franks. They conquered by sheer force, and our sympathy, despite all the monkish annalists and chroniclers fable of the wickedness of the Saxons, is given to them rather than to their conqueror.

The pacification was complete; a new era of peace and religiousness set in; the Church flourished, eight Saxon bishoprics arose; churches, abbeys, and monasteries were multiplied; and the poor Saxons, in unknown regions, saw the error of their ways, and in due time doubtless became as good Christians as their neighbors.

The Saxon war was ostensibly waged for the glory of Christ, and the conversion of the Saxons to the religion of Jesus; but the most diligent examination of contemporary records fails to reveal, on the part of the Franks, the spirit of its blessed Founder, the Prince of Peace, the Teacher of Mercy, the Embodiment of Love.

The Christian conqueror who directed it, and the priests in his train, were zealous and inflexible in their purpose; baptism, or death even unto extermination, was their watchword and policy.

In what sense then are we to understand the conversion of the Saxons? Not in the common and grammatical sense. Multitudes of the Saxons had been slain in battle or put to death, many thousands had been driven into

¹ Ep. 14. *l. c.*

exile, and excepting the baptized Saxons who remained, the whole of their country by the law of conquest passed into the hands of Charles, who, among other things, provided for the establishment and maintenance of Christian institutions, built churches and monasteries, and richly endowed them with land and tithes.

The conversion of the Saxons may be a myth, but that of Saxony into a dependency or province of Christian Francia is a historical reality.

A few details may illustrate these statements, unfold the principles on which Saxony was Christianized, and fix certain dates of the progress of Christian institutions.

Among the earliest establishments near the Saxon country is the monastery of Hersfeld in Hessa. It was founded by bishop Lul, probably in 774, and consecrated to the apostles Simon and Thaddeus; through his influence with Charles it was at once enriched with the royal protection, the privilege of the free choice of its abbot, and with tithes.¹

Nothing seemed to be wanting to the growing prosperity of the monastery but the acquisition of the relics of an undoubted saint, as an important and unfailing means for attracting the benefactions of the faithful. The remains of such a saint reposed in the neighboring church at Fritzlar; they were those of St. Wigbert, and the monks of Hersfeld greatly longed for their removal to their own establishment. They prayed, and an angel appeared either to Witta, the suffragan bishop of Buriaburg, or to bishop Lul, enjoining the change.

Bishop Lul referred the case to Charles and, armed with a royal permit, proceeded to direct the translation. Three monks were designated for the purpose, and they performed the deed secretly under cover of night; this precaution was necessary, as its execution by day would doubtless have led to violent opposition on the part of the people. Lupus, the biographer of St. Wigbert, remarks that though bishop Lul did not doubt the saint's ability of protecting

¹ Böhmer-Mühlbacher, *l. c.* Nos. 172, 173, 188, 189.

the carriers, he recalled the words: "Thou shalt not tempt the Lord thy God" (Matt. iv., 7), and enjoined secrecy. This he thought eminently proper, reasoning: "Why did the Lord, after Pharaoh had consented to the departure of the children of Israel, not conduct them through the land of the Philistines?" "Forsooth only lest they should repent of their departure in the event of war." On this principle he justified the secret removal of the relics.

The translation took place in 780; the relics were solemnly deposited at Hersfeld, and bishop Lul caused the tomb of the saint to be ornamented with silver and gold. It was a fortunate event; the miraculous power of the saint was manifest in rich donations which flowed into the monastery from far and near; he even cast the fame of the original and apostolical patrons of the establishment in the shade, which thenceforth was called after his name;¹ and as Lul was soon after promoted to archiepiscopal dignity, St. Wigbert may have had some share in his elevation.

Six years later [786] the archbishop died at Hersfeld and was buried there. His remains did not escape the fate of other saints, for Lul was canonized; they were taken from their first resting place to a new church in 852, and when that was destroyed by fire, removed with those of St. Wigbert to a new tomb in 1040; but, it appears, not permanently, or entire, since other churches boasted of their possession.²

Gregory, the zealous head of Willibrord's school at Utrecht, who for more than twenty years had been the soul of the mission for the conversion of the Frisians and Saxons, died in 775, and was succeeded by his nephew Alberich. Lebuinus, the fiery missionary already known to us, fled to Utrecht, and after an interval, returned to the scene of his labors, rebuilt the church at Deventer, and died there in 773. That church also the pagans set on fire, and diligently sought to secure his remains, but failed. When the storm had passed Alberich sent Liudger to continue the work of

¹ Abel-Simson, *l. c.* I., 344.

² Ibid. p. 535 sqq.

Lebuinus, charging him to rebuild the church over his remains. Liudger began to build, but almost despaired of finding the remains of Lebuinus, when the latter appeared to him in a dream saying, "Dear brother Liudger, you have done well in rebuilding the church which the pagans have destroyed; search for my bones in the south aisle and you will find them."

Liudger, full of gratitude to God, acted upon the miraculous direction, discovered the remains in the designated place, and changing the lines of his foundation walls, was glad to provide for them a permanent home inside the church, which in due course he completed and consecrated. Their virtue thenceforth protected it from further molestation by the pagans.¹

This happened in 775. After that time he labored in the interior of the country, engaged with his companions in the arduous and perilous work of demolishing the idols and temples of the Frisians. Two years later he was ordained priest and appointed a religious teacher in the Ostergau,² where he followed his holy vocation for seven years, until the persecution of 784 necessitated his departure. He repaired first to Rome and thence to Monte Casino, where he made himself familiar with the Rule of St. Benedict. After the lapse of two years and a half, he returned, and, it is believed through the influence of Alcuin, was sent by Charles to the former scene of his labors, with instructions to exercise his ministry in five *gauen* of Frisia and the islet of Bant, which has since disappeared in the sea.³

He was very successful, and with the king's approbation extended his labors to the island of Heligoland, or Foseteland, as it was called, after Fosete, a divinity worshipped there. Though the island had been visited by Willibrord in the beginning of the century, probably not a vestige of his labors remained, and Liudger had to begin the work of conversion anew.

¹ Altfrid. Vita Liudgeri, ed. Diekamp, I., 14 sqq.

² Ibid. cc. 16, 21.

³ Ibid. c. 22; cf. Spruner-Menke, *Histor. Handatlas* No. 33.

As he drew near Heligoland, a dense fog which had hidden the island from view suddenly lifted; the change appeared to him in the light of a symbol, and he remarked to his companions, that it betokened the merciful power of God, who had chased away the Evil One who had so long covered the island with darkness. The work of conversion progressed apace; Liudger caused the sanctuaries of Fosete to be demolished and replaced by Christian churches, and baptized many of the islanders, among them Landric, the son of a chieftain, with the water of the same holy well which Willibrord had used at the baptism of three men. That act had almost cost Willibrord his life, for the usage of the island forbade any to take water speaking, and his infraction of the law was viewed as sacrilege.¹

The date of these events, and the duration of Liudger's stay on the island are not known; but he returned to the continent, and continued his work in Frisia, until (perhaps in 793) the king superadded to his pastoral care the district of Westphalia. About 804 he was consecrated as the first bishop of Westphalia. He built a monastery at Mimigernäford on the Aa; this old Saxon name gradually fell into disuse, and about the close of the eleventh century had been displaced by that of Münster (= minster, *monasterium*). Liudger long resisted episcopal dignity, but at last yielded to the entreaties of archbishop Hildibald, of Cologne, who is believed to have been his consecrator. His diocese extended from the Lippe to the middle course of the Ems in Westphalia, and embraced also the five Frisian *gaue*, east of the Lauwers, the sphere of his former labors. Charles, moreover, provided for the diocese of Liudger, in the gift of the monastery of St. Peter at Lotusa in Brabant, with all its dependencies. Liudger, the first bishop of Westphalia, died March 26, 809, and was buried in the church of Werden on the Ruhr which he had built.²

Another zealous and successful laborer was Willehad, or Vilhaed, an Anglo-Saxon from Northumbria. He was a

¹ Ibid., c. 22; Alcuini Vita Willibr. (Jaffé, IV., 47. 48).

² Abel-Simson, *l. c.* II., 311 sqq.

friend of Alcuin, and before 780 rendered good service successively at Dokkum in the Ostergau, the scene of Boniface's martyrdom, at Hugmerke, and Thrianta. At Hugmerke he was in imminent peril, for the pagans declared his preaching the Gospel a capital offence, and he would have suffered death but for the interposition of some more mercifully inclined who persuaded their brethren to let the lot decide his fate; it fell in his favor, but though his life was spared, he was obliged to quit the locality.

At Thrianta also he had a narrow escape in consequence of the imprudent zeal of some of his followers in the destruction of pagan sanctuaries. An infuriated Frisian struck him with his sword, but the blow, which was aimed at his head, fortunately glanced off in virtue of a reliquary suspended from his neck. The miracle so impressed the Frisians, that they desisted from further violence, spared his life, and suffered him to depart unhurt.³

About 780 the conversions appear to have been of considerable magnitude. "The Saxons forsook their idols, worshipped the true God and believed in his works, and built churches. A multitude of pagan Wends also made their submission," say some authorities, while another annalist records that "a great multitude of Wends and Frisians were converted to *him*."⁴

The personal pronoun relates to Charles, and the conversion may denote either political submission, or reception of Christianity. At any rate we learn that the king in 777 "divided the country among the bishops, presbyters, and abbots, that they might preach and baptize."⁵ In virtue of this informal division of the country among a number of Frankish ecclesiastics, repeated and extended on a larger scale in 780,⁶ Charles, impressed with the high qualifications of Willehad, commissioned him to proceed to Wigmodia, that is, the district between the Lower Weser and the Elbe, build churches and preach to the people.⁷ After two years

³ Vita Willehadi, c. 2 sqq., MG. SS. II.

⁴ Vita Sturmi, c. 22. MG. SS. II.

⁵ Annal. Mosell.

⁶ Annal. Petav., Mosell.

⁷ Vita Willehadi, c. 5.

of a successful ministry the revolt of Wittekind annihilated his work. Willehad had to flee for his life, and apprehensive of a long continuance of the hostility of the people, repaired to King Pepin, in Italy, and to Rome. Returning to Francia, he took up his abode in the monastery of Echternach, collected his scattered and suffering disciples, and in 785 was enabled to resume his long-suspended labors in Wigmodia.¹

Nevertheless the strictly missionary character of the Church in Saxony proper prevailed certainly as late as 787, when Willehad was consecrated bishop for the aforesaid district. But even this does not signify anything like a diocese, duly organized, and supplied with a cathedral and other adjuncts. It is known that Willehad designated Bremen, where he built and consecrated the Church of St. Peter, as a cathedral city; but his speedy death arrested the progress of the movement for a considerable period, since Willerich, Willehad's successor, did not take up his residence at Bremen until 805, after the close of the Saxon war, when Charles endowed his bishopric with a hundred *mansi* of land.²

We have still to mention the pioneer of the Saxon mission, the abbot Sturmi of Fulda. He enjoyed to a remarkable degree the confidence of Charles, accompanied him at the beginning of the war to Saxony, and directed the work of the numerous clerics, his associates. He is expressly named as placed in charge of the largest district, set apart for missionary operations in 777, and it has been conjectured from his subsequent, though not permanent, residence at Eresburg, that the region about the Diemel, and the district ultimately embraced in the diocese of Paderborn mark the sphere of his labors. Eresburg certainly was an early missionary station."³

The case of Sturmi seems to shed light on the principles which guided the judgment of Charles in the choice of missionaries, and the conduct of the missions.

¹ Vita Willehadi, cc. 6, 8.

³ Vita Sturmi, cc. 22, 24, 25, MG.

² Adam. Gest. Hammab. eccl. pontif. I., 20; Simson, *l. c.* II., 310.

He selected men who, from their connection with institutions already securely established, like the monastery of Fulda, and because of their aptitude for organization, might be expected to prosecute the work of conversion with vigor, and give it substantial support. Thus Paderborn was afterwards connected with Würzburg, Verden with Amorbach in the Odenwald, and the region about Osnabrück placed in charge of bishop Agilfrid of Liège.¹

Another, and probably the most efficacious means for the conversion of the Saxons, was the Christian education of Saxon hostages. Thus the first two bishops of Paderborn were Saxons, and instances of genuine Saxon converts are not wanting.²

According to the explicit testimony of a reputable author, writing towards the close of the ninth century, Charles was wont to build churches as soon as possible, and carefully set off the several ecclesiastical districts; but owing to the singular lack of cities which, agreeably to ancient usage, might have been designated as episcopal seats, chose localities geographically and by reason of adequate population well suited for the purpose he had in hand. The king, he continues, committed such districts to other ecclesiastical dignitaries, who periodically repaired there in person, instructing the people in the doctrines of the Christian faith, and designated approved ministers as resident clergy; and that this arrangement continued until the Church was sufficiently established to warrant the permanent settlement of bishops in their several dioceses.³

Some of these details doubtless belong to later times, but the general principle appears to be correctly stated. Such an arrangement existed with respect to Paderborn, etc.; the subsequent diocese of Verden was in the first instance a dependency of the monastery of Amorbach, and the first two bishops of Verden were abbots of the said monastery; their episcopal status being purely titular, and hardly rising

¹ Abel-Simson, *l. c.* I., 268.

³ Translatio S. Liborii, MG. SS.

² Transl. S. Liborii, cc. 5, 6, MG. IV., 149 sqq. SS. IV., 151; Simson, *l. c.* I., 269.

above that of *episcopi in partibus*; ¹ a similar plan was observed with the mission in Eastphalia. ² Sundry assertions to the contrary, such as the erection of the eight Saxon dioceses of Bremen, Halberstadt, Hildesheim, Verden, Paderborn, Minden, Münster, and Asenbrugg, at one time, according to one authority in *one day*, ³ are doubtless pure inventions of a later age, and simply incredible. ⁴ The same applies to a pretended arrangement in virtue of which Charles engaged to donate portions of the conquered Saxon territory to St. Peter, that he set off and founded Saxon bishoprics by papal command, and endowed them with tithes; all such notices are destitute of authority, and conflict with the well-defined relations between Charles and the pope. ⁵

The actual establishment of the Saxon bishoprics belongs to the period following the termination of the Saxon war. Bremen seems to have become the seat of a bishop in 805; Münster (*i. e.*, Mimigernäford) in 804; the only other Saxon bishopric erected during the life of Charles is that of Paderborn in 806, when the Saxon Hathumar, who had been educated at Würzburg, was consecrated as its first bishop. Paderborn, of whose church notices are given in another connection, had until then been under the ecclesiastical direction of the see of Würzburg. ⁶

A peculiar case is that of the virtual abolition of the diocese of Buriaburg, near the Saxon country. It occurred under the following circumstances: Richulfus, the successor of archbishop Lul, stood in near personal relations to Charles; he was a member of the Palace School, where he bore the name of Flavius Damoetas. Contrary to usage his consecration took place, not at Mayence, but at Fritzlar, situated in the diocese of Buriaburg. The monasteries

¹ Abel-Simson, *l. c.* I., 349 sqq., 353, sqq.

² *Ibid.*, p. 354.

³ Thietmar, VII., 53, MG. SS. III., 860; cf. Annal. Saxo., MG. SS. VI., 560.

⁴ Simson, *l. c.* I., 356 sq.

⁵ Simson, *l. c.* I., 181 sq., 357 sq., and compare the respective chapters in Book III. of this work.

⁶ Simson, *l. c.* II., 313 sq.

at these places having been founded by Boniface were in a certain sense dependencies of the archiepiscopal see of Mayence, and closely inter-related.

Richulfus, desirous of asserting the dependence of Fritzlar on Mayence, designated it as the place of his consecration. The late bishop Witta of Buriaburg was suffragan of his predecessor, but judging it undesirable to revive the office, Richulfus adopted the expedient of abolishing the small diocese as a proper compensation to Mayence for the alleged loss of certain possessions or sources of revenue, which had been diverted to the support of the missions, eventually of the dioceses, in Saxony. His consecration at Fritzlar appears to have been the first step towards the cessation of Buriaburg, as a separate diocese, ¹ and its incorporation with that of Mayence.

¹ Simson, *l. c.* II., 538 sqq., and the authorities he cites.

CHAPTER V.

INVASION OF SPAIN.

Occasion.—Muster.—March.—Saragossa.—Results.—Retreat.—Ambuscade.—Roncesvalles.—Legend.—The *Altabiçaren Cantua*.—Roland.

777] IT is probable that the remarkable administration of the Sacrament of Baptism to a multitude of Saxons at the Diet of Paderborn was witnessed by personages who must have been as much amazed at what they saw, as their presence interested the Frankish warriors and their converts, who until that hour had never seen any of their countrymen. They were perhaps the first Arabs who, penetrated so far north; if their person and presence were strange, the errand on which they came was stranger.

They had heard in Spain, as those with whom they sympathized in heart and aim had heard in far away Bagdad, of the martial glory of the king of the Franks, and in the phrase of one of the annalists, Ibn-al-Arabi, the head of the embassy, together with his son and son-in-law, and other Saracens, came "to surrender to the king of the Franks himself and all the towns which the king of the Saracens had confided to his keeping."¹ He was the governor of Saragossa, and stood politically much in the same relation to the reigning king at Cordova, as did the Lombard princes to the king of the Franks, and proposed to do to him what they would fain have done to the Greek emperor. As Charles had conquered Lombardy, so had Abdel-Rhaman, the last descendant of the Ommiad khalifs, conquered Spain, and held it independent of the Khalif of Bagdad. Ibn-al-Arabi and his party were disaffected Abbassides, and proposed to desert the cause of Abdel-Rhaman, place

¹ Ann. Einh., Lauriss., Fuld.

the northern frontier of Spain under the protection of Charles, acknowledge his suzerainty, and, in the event of war, invoke his aid against the Emir¹ of Cordova.

The matter appealed to his pride and interest, and he was readily persuaded to entertain it; it was a novel enterprise, promising adventure and conquest, and a monition which the most Christian king could not disregard.

There was a *Nemesis* in the broken power of the Saracens, once the terror of Europe, when not long since they threatened to overrun her fairest provinces, until the hammer strokes of his grandsire stunned them, and drove them back. Then an Aquitanian prince sought Saracen aid against the Franks, now the Saracens invoked his help against their own emir. The proud Frankish banners would wave beyond the Pyrenees, and the ecclesiastics in the camp said that his coming would quicken the hope of deliverance slumbering in many Christian hearts, which even then were speeding their prayers to heaven for his success.

Such and similar reasons, the hope of spoil cherished by the warriors, and of rich livings flowing from the conquest, by the bishops and abbots, combined to make the Spanish invasion a most popular undertaking. The *heerbann* was called out, and the martial strength of Francia heard with enthusiasm the summons to a holy war against the infidel Moslems.

778] Preparations were going on in midwinter; the armorer's din was heard everywhere, and soon the old Roman roads were thronged with warriors on the march to Spain.

The king and his family went early in the year to Chasse-neuil, on the Clain,² the designated rendezvous. The assembled host, composed of Burgundians, Bavarians, Austrasians, Provençals, Septimanians, Lombards, and other bodies not mentioned by name, was divided into two

¹ The title of Khalif was not assumed by his successors until the reign of the third emir of the same name (912-961).

² Annal. Lauriss.; Metten., Einh.

armies: the one commanded by the king's uncle, Duke Bernard, of Italian fame; the other by Charles in person. The plan provided for a simultaneous invasion of the peninsula from opposite directions, and a junction at Saragossa.

Bernard accordingly took the road between the Mediterranean and the mountains, and Charles followed the line of Vasconia and the Pyrenees through the valley of Roncesvalles.¹

Brilliant and easy success seems to have attended the course of both armies until they reached Saragossa. The governors of Gerona and Barcelona gave hostages² to Bernard and furnished the necessary supplies, enabling him to conduct his column, without any mishap, to the walls of Saragossa.

778] On the other hand, the progress of Charles, also, must have been satisfactory; he entered Vasconia, doubtless with the concurrence of Lupus, but it is questionable if it was spontaneous or compulsory. Although there is no evidence that he was his vassal, his relations to Charles must have been those of formal amity; cordiality, however, was out of the question. Charles, by the right of conquest, established by his father and asserted by himself, was Lord of Aquitaine, which not long since formed part of the ancestral possessions of Lupus. The loss of Aquitaine, therefore, was one grievance, but by no means the greatest, which rankled in his breast; he was a Merovingian, and, as such, recalled the history of the mayors of the palace and the wrongs they had inflicted on his house. Had he been able, he would have refused passage to Charles; he granted it, because necessity compelled. Perhaps he took the customary oaths of vassalage, under compulsion; at any rate, if he did, his submission "was not without umbrage or without all the feelings of a true son of Waifre, that he saw the Franks and the son of Pepin so close to him."³

The passage of the Pyrenees was difficult, but the genius of Charles made it easy.⁴ At his approach the confederates

¹ Annal. Einh.; Vita Caroli, c. 9.

² Annal. Maxim.

³ Fauriel, *Histoire de la Gaule*.

⁴ Vita Hlud. c. 2.

of Ibn-al-Arabi surrendered the cities of Pampeluna and Huesca, and accompanied him to the gates of Saragossa, where he effected a junction with Bernard.

"All Spain," says an annalist,¹ "trembled at the innumerable legions" of the king of the Franks. This is exaggeration, for the Moslems in Saragossa beheld them from their battlements without trepidation, and showed no signs of fear when they cast an iron girdle around them; nor did fear assail the rest of Spain, for the danger to Saragossa roused the martial ardor of the Moslems, who came in bands from all quarters, swarmed round the Franks, and kept them in a state of incessant anxiety and danger.

But why did Saragossa, whose pretended governor, Ibn-al-Arabi, had already made formal surrender of the place into the hands of Charles many months ago in the depths of a Westphalian forest, not open her gates to the victorious king who demanded admittance? The city and her defenders repudiated the action of Ibn-al-Arabi, who either had drawn upon his imagination, or at the supreme moment found himself deserted by his friends. The brilliant picture of an easy conquest of a fair portion of Spain, with Saragossa as a point of support, dissolved like one on the screen of a magic lantern; the great king had suffered himself to be lured into the heart of a hostile country; he was in stress of supplies, seemingly caught in a trap, exposed to assault from within the stronghold and from the daily increasing bands of Arabs, that scoured the country for miles around. He was also deficient in the apparatus necessary for a siege, which might be of indefinite duration, for Saragossa was well supplied, and as strongly garrisoned as fortified. The ecclesiastical abettors of the scheme, moreover, had drawn as much upon their imagination as Ibn-al-Arabi; the splendid and touching spectacle of multitudes of Christians groaning under Moslem rule, praying, awaiting, and welcoming the champion of the faith, the grandson of Charles Martel—that also faded into airy nothingness.

¹ Annal. Mett.

It is uncertain what took place before Saragossa; a great battle is said to have been fought there of a Sunday afternoon in which many thousand Saracens were slain, but this assertion is believed to be as fabulous as an alleged defeat of the Franks mentioned by Arab writers.¹

It is said that the Moslems made a successful sortie, that sickness broke out in the camp, and that Moslem gold, which Charles divided among his troops, hastened his departure. If gold was paid, it was not paid by Saragossa, but most probably exacted as indemnity of war, or the price of safety from districts or cities which were at the mercy of Charles. It is certain that he scored no victory at Saragossa, neither took nor entered the city, and left from under her walls, because necessity compelled him so to do. Ibn-al-Arabi gave hostages, but the king retained him also, and carried him bound² into captivity; his confederate, Abu-Taher (or Abitaurus), also gave hostages, but could not save the fate of Pampeluna, for Charles, on his retreat, caused its walls to be razed to the ground either in a fit of anger (as some hold) or "that it might not be able to revolt."³

The oath of fealty was doubtless exacted all along the march, and Frankish officers together with adequate troops placed in command of all points of importance.

Charles might say, as others have said for him, that he extended his conquest to the Ebro; still, for all practical purposes, the Spanish invasion was a failure, and the reader may determine if it is true "that all the towns and castles that he attacked surrendered."⁴ It may hold good of other places, but not of Saragossa, unless we infer that he contented himself with an investment of the place without an attack. This is hardly credible, for Charles emulated Cæsar, and would not have laid himself open to the charge of wilful omission of the third and most important particular of his famous saying. He doubtless *tried* to win, although he only came, saw—and *went*.

¹ Chron. Moiss. in MG. SS. I., 296.

—Fauriel, *l. c.* III., 344.

² Annal. Petav.

³ Annal. Lauriss. min., Mosell. Laurish. Einh., Lauriss. maj.

⁴ Vita Car. c. 9 *ad init.*

The army retreated in one body, and what befell it on the march is thus told by the king's biographer and friend:

"The king brought back his army without any loss, save that at the summit of the Pyrenees he suffered somewhat from the perfidy of the Vasconians. Whilst the army of the Franks, embarrassed in a narrow defile, was forced by the nature of the ground to advance in one long, close line, the Vasconians, who were in ambush on the crest of the mountain (for the dense forest covering those parts is favorable to ambuscade), descended and fell suddenly on the baggage-train and on the troops of the rear-guard, whose duty it was to cover all in their front, and precipitated them to the bottom of the valley.

"There a fight took place in which the Franks were killed to a man. The Vasconians, having plundered the baggage-train, profited by the night which had come on, and rapidly dispersed. They owed all their success in this engagement to the lightness of their equipment and the nature of the spot where the action took place. The Franks, on the other hand, being heavily armed, and in an unfavorable position, struggled against too many disadvantages.

"Egihard, master of the king's household; Anselm, count Palatine; and Roland, prefect of the marches of Brittany, fell in this engagement. There were no means at the time for taking revenge for this check; for, after their sudden attack, the enemy dispersed to such good purpose that there was no gaining any trace of the direction in which he should be sought for."¹

The valley of Roncevalles, or Roncevaux, is situated between the defiles of Sizer and *Val-Carlos*, that is the valley of Charles, and the small chapel of Ibagueta is pointed out as the precise spot on which the drama was enacted. The roadway is very narrow—so narrow that hardly two men, at the most three, may pass abreast. It was near sunset when the terrible Basques fell upon the mail-clad and heavy-armed Frankish rear, in charge of the baggage and the spoil, and

¹ Vita Caroli, c. 9.

almost annihilated it. The Moslems may have made common cause with them.¹ The date of the disaster (August 15, 778) is fixed by the epitaph on the tomb of one of the slain.²

Thus meagre are the historical notices of an event so famed in poetry and song; but the deficiency of the record is amply made up by legendary lore, and we may be pardoned in drawing upon it for two or three particulars which few readers of this history might care to have suppressed.

The great, sore, and sanguinary disaster which had occurred was past repair, and would have been so, had Charles caught the bugle-blast of Roland's horn, to which Sir Walter Scott refers in the well-known stanza:

"O for the voice of that wild horn,
On Fontarabian echoes borne,
The dying hero's call,
That told imperial Charlemagne,
How Paynim sons of swarthy Spain
Had wrought his champion's fall."³

For Charles was many miles away, and the massacre most probably lasted through the night; he heard the terrible tidings with excessive grief and ordered a halt.⁴

When the Franks returned in quest of their missing comrades they found them slain, robbed and dishonored in that dark valley of the shadow of death, and no living soul to tell the sad and cruel story.

Not a vestige of the enemy was to be seen—but they were Basques, and the story runs that Lupus their duke was implicated in the foul deed, and that he met his reward in the fate of Haman.

The Franks saw in it a *national* act, and so did the Basques, as is clear from the *Altabiçaren Cantua*, which is of great antiquity, and claimed to have been preserved by the Pyrenean mountaineers to this day.⁵

¹ It is historically credible and possible. See Reinaud, *Invasion des Sarrasins, en France*, p. 96.

² That of Eggihard. See Dümmler in Haupt's *Zeitchrift für d. Alterth.* v. 16, p. 279.

³ *Rob Roy*, ch. 2. *Marm.* 6, 33.

⁴ Annal Einh.

⁵ The original song in Basque is on record. A French version, though inadequate, published by M. E. de Montgrave, in the *Journal Historique*, t.

The Etxeco-Ioana, a Vasconian chief, hears in his hut on the lofty Ibaneta a shrill cry proceeding from the Escaldunac

i. p. 76 sqq., may interest some readers.

LE CHANT D'ALTABIÇAR.

1.

Un cri s'est élevé
Du milieu des montagnes des Escaldunacs,
Et l'Etxeco-Ioana, debout devant sa porte,
A ouvert l'oreille, et a dit: "Qui va là? Que me veut on?"
Et le chien qui dormait aux pieds de son maître
S'est levé et a rempli les environs d'Altabiçar de ses aboiements.

2.

Au col d'Ibaneta un bruit retentit,
Il approche, en frôlant, à droite, à gauche, les rochers.
C'est le murmure sourd d'une armée qui vient,
Les nôtres y ont répondu du sommet des montagnes;
Ils ont soufflés dans leur cornes de boeuf,
Et l'Etxeco-Ioana aiguise ses flèches.

3.

Ils viennent, ils viennent! Quelle haie de lances,
Comme les bannières versicolores flottent au milieu!
Quel éclairs jaillissent des armes!
Combien sont ils? Enfant compte-les bien!
Un, deux, trois, quatre, cinq, six, sept, huit, neuf, dix, onze, douze, treize, quatorze, quinze, seize, dix-sept, dix-huit, dix-neuf, vingt.

4.

Vingt, et des milliers d'autres encore!
On perdrait son temps à les compter.

11

Unissons nos bras nerveux, déracinons ces rochers,

Lançons les du haut des montagnes
Jusque sur leurs têtes!
Écrasons les, tuons les.

5.

Et qu'avaient ils à faire dans nos montagnes, ces hommes du Nord?
Pourquoi sont ils venus troubler notre paix?
Quand Dieu fait des montagnes, c'est pour que les hommes ne les franchissent pas.
Mais les rochers en roulant tombent: ils écrasent les bataillons.
Le sang ruisselle, les chairs palpitent;
Oh! combien d'os broyés! quelle mer de sang!

6.

Fuyez, fuyez, ceux à qui il reste de la force et un cheval,
Fuis, roi Carloman, avec ta plume noire et ta cape rouge!
Ton neveu, ton plus brave, ton chéri Roland, est étendu mort là-bas;
Son courage ne lui a servi à rien.
Et maintenant, Escaldunac, laissons les rochers;
Descendons vite en lançant nos flèches à ceux qui fuient.

7.

Ils fuient! ils fuient! où est donc la haie de lances?
Où sont ces bannières versicolores flottant au milieu?
Les éclairs ne jaillissent plus de leurs armes souillées de sang.
Combien sont ils? enfant compte-les bien!
Vingt, dix-neuf, dix-huit, dix-sept, seize, quinze, quatorze, treize, douze, onze, dix, neuf, huit, sept, six, cinq, quatre, trois, deux, un;

range. He rushes forth to see and hear, shouting, "Who's there? What do you want?" His dog, till then asleep, has also heard the cry, and with its bark wakes the echoes of Altabiçar.

The cry is followed by another sound, dull, confused, and strong, shifting from rock to rock, and coming nearer. He concludes that it is the noise of a moving host, hears the familiar notes of the bull-horn¹ from every mountain-top, smiles, and sharpens his arrows.

A forest of lances, with gay banners and flashing helmets and coats of mail, emerges from the pass. He bids his son count them. The lad counts: "One, two, three, four," and so forth, to twenty.

"Twenty thousand, and many more thousands following."

"Stop counting!" he cries.

" . . . 'Tis waste of time to count.
Let's use our arms, displace these stones.
Direct their course and downward roll,
In death involve each living soul,
And crush their bones!"

Thus occupied, the father asks: "What came they for, those northern men? Why did they enter our mountains and disturb our peace?" and replies, "when God made

8.
Un ! il n'y en a même plus un !
C'est fini. Etxeco-Joana, vous pou-
vez rentrer avec votre chien,
Embrasser votre femme et vos en-
fants,
Nettoyer vos flèches, les serrer avec
votre
Corne de boeuf, et ensuite vous cou-
cher et dormir dessus ;
La nuit, les aigles viendront manger
ces chairs écrasées,
Et tous ces os blanchiront dans l'éter-
nité.

¹ The custom of summoning the Basque mountaineers with the blast of the bull-horn is primitive, and com-

mon to other nations. An old statute requires the mountaineer on hearing the signal to leave his flocks, seize his arms, and follow the call.

"Cum homines de villis qui stant in montanis cum suis ganatis (flocks), audierint appetitum, omnes capiant arma, et, demissis ganatis, sequantur appetitum.—Biancae Comment. Hispan. illustr.

Compare the lines of "Pibroch of Donald Dhu:"

"Leave untended the herd,
The flock without shelter, etc.,"

showing that a similar custom prevailed in Scotland.

the mountains, he set them as barriers between man and man."

The stones roll down, and bury the battalions. The savage Basque feasts his eyes on the pandemonium below, expatiating on the quivering flesh and shattered bones in seas of blood.

Then he bids them fly, knowing that flight is vain; scornfully bids Charles fly, Charles with his sable plume and crimson pall, telling him that his nephew, his brave and loved Roland, lies dead in the vale.

Their work is done aloft, but other work awaits them below; they shoot their arrows after the flying host until they are spent, draw them out of the bodies of the slain, and return to their mountain home.

Again the Etxeco-Ioana stands looking, and watching the flight triumphantly exclaims: "Where is it now, that forest of lances? where are the banners gay? No sunlight flashes from those blood-stained helmets and coats of mail!" Again he bids his son count them; the lad obeys, but reversing the order, says, "Twenty, nineteen, eighteen," and so forth down to one.

"No, not one," shouts the savage Basque, "it is all finished."

"Yes," concludes the poet, "turn in now, Etxeco-Ioana, and take your dog with you. Kiss your wife and children; cleanse your arrows and tie them to your bull-horn; seek your rest and sleep upon them. In the night the eagles will come and feast on the flesh, and the bones they leave will blanch into eternity."

The solitary notice of the death of Roland in the massacre of Roncesvalles is the groundwork of the famous Song of Roland of the romance writers.

A few passages, supposed to describe the event, are sufficient for the purpose in hand.

Roland "now blew a loud blast with his horn, to summon any Christian concealed in the adjacent woods to his assistance, or to recall his friends beyond the pass. This horn was endued with such power that all other horns were split by

its sound; and it is said that Orlando at that time blew it so vehemently that he burst the veins and nerves of his neck.

"The sound reached the king's ears, who lay encamped in the valley still called by his name, about eight miles from Ronceval, towards Gascony, being carried so far by supernatural power. Charles would have flown to his succor, but was prevented by Ganalón who, conscious of Orlando's sufferings, insinuated it was usual with him to sound his horn on light occasions. 'He is perhaps,' said he, 'pursuing some wild beast, and the sound echoes through the woods; it will be fruitless, therefore, to seek him.'"

Meanwhile Orlando, resigning himself to his fate, confesses his sins and dies; angels appear and carry his soul to paradise. This happened at Roncesvalles, but "whilst the soul of the blessed Orlando was leaving his body, I, Turpin, standing near the king in the valley of Charles, at the moment I was celebrating the mass of the dead, namely, on the 16th day of June, fell into a trance, and hearing the angelic choir sing aloud, I wondered what it might be. Now, when they had ascended on high, behold there came after them a phalanx of terrible ones, like warriors returning from the spoil bearing their prey. Presently I inquired of one of them what it meant, and was answered, 'We are bearing the soul of Mansir to hell, but yonder is Michael bearing the Horn-winder to heaven.' When the mass was over I told the king what I had seen; and whilst I was yet speaking, behold Baldwin rode up on Orlando's horse, and related what had befallen him, and where he had left the hero in, the agonies of death, beside a stone in the meadows at the foot of the mountain; whereupon the whole army immediately marched back to Ronceval."

The body is discovered by Charles himself, "lying in the form of a cross, and he began to lament over him with bitter sighs and sobs, wringing his hands, and tearing his hair and beard."

We omit the words of the lamentation and the "poetry," and conclude this veracious account in the words of the monastic forger:

"There did Charles mourn for Orlando to the very last day of his life. On the spot where he died he encamped, and caused the body to be embalmed with balsam, myrrh and aloes. The whole camp watched it that night, honoring his corse with hymns and songs and innumerable torches and fires kindled on the adjacent mountains."¹

¹ Rodd's Translation of the *History of Charlemagne and Orlando*, falsely ascribed to Turpin.—According to *Itinerarium Antonini et Hierosolymitanum*, ed. Pinder-Parthey, p.

217, the road from Spain to Aquitaine ran as follows: Pampalone, Turissa, Summo Pyrenaeo (*Roncesvalles*), Imo Pyrenaeo (*St. Jean-Pied de Port*) Carasa, Aquis Terebelicis (*Dax*), etc., etc

CHAPTER VI.

SEQUEL TO FALL OF THE LOMBARDS.

Plot.—Charles quells the revolt in Friuli.—Revisits Italy.—Social condition.—Incidents at Parma, Rome, Milan, etc.—Puppet kings.—Legislation.—Invasion and submission of Benevento.—War with Tassilo.—He is arraigned and deposed.—Annexation of Bavaria.—The penitent monk.

BARELY fifteen months after the conquest of Lombardy the political situation in Italy had become most critical. The Frankish governors and officers were not popular; the court of Constantinople was intriguing with the powerful vassals whose allegiance to the dispossessed king of the Lombards was supposed to have been transferred, at least formally, to the king of the Franks; and the presence of Adelchis in the metropolis of the East was a standing menace, which in the eyes of the pope, who had his own grievances, might at any moment break out in open insurrection, having for its object the overthrow of Frankish supremacy and the restoration of the Lombards. The vigilant spies of Hadrian kept him well informed of the threads of the plot, which his own fears, probably also his private designs, magnified into colossal dimensions. Epistle followed epistle full of the most dreadful forebodings, and the most earnest appeals to Charles to hasten to Italy.

Such a Job's message awaited him on his return from 775] Saxony; it was more ominous than any he had yet received, and the pope's account was confirmed in other quarters. A Lombard league had been formed, Hrodgaud, duke of Friuli, had openly proclaimed his independence, and quite a number of cities joined in the revolt. The faithless vassal was in league with the powerful dukes of Spoleto, Benevento, and Clusium, and his father-in-law,

Count Stebelinius of Treviso; the revolt in Friuli was only the first act of the conspiracy which would be followed by other events in March of the ensuing year, when Adelchis, the son of Desiderius, was expected to arrive with a Greek fleet, seize Rome, and with the support of his confederates, repossess himself of his ancestral inheritance.

"Rome," wrote the pontiff, "was to be assailed by land and by water, and all the churches of God were to be robbed; yea, it was part of the conspiracy, God forbid, to abduct him, Hadrian, into captivity, and restore the Lombard dominion. He adjured Charles by the true and living God to hasten, with the utmost speed, to his deliverance, lest the nations should say, 'Where is the trust of the Romans, which, next to God, they put in the king and government of the Franks?' He assured him that failure on his part involved consequences for which he must answer at the bar of God, because he, the pope, by divine command, and that of St. Peter, had placed the Church of God and the people of the Roman Commonwealth¹ under the powerful protection of his most sweet sublimity."

Hadrian felt sore, and, in this letter, drew largely on his imagination; Charles doubtless did not depend solely upon him for intelligence, but judged the situation, in spite of the pope's exaggeration, sufficiently grave to call for instant action. It was midwinter; the army had been disbanded, but something must be done. The revolt in Friuli must be quelled forthwith and its faithless head chastised; the example of a Frankish vassal breaking his oath, and proclaiming his independence was perilous to his rule in Italy, and left him no choice but instant action.

He left Schlettstadt in Alsace immediately after Christmas with a *scara* of picked household troops, and crossed the Alps with amazing rapidity. He was in the duchy of Friuli before Hrodgaud knew that he was coming. The feeble resistance he offered ended in defeat, imprisonment, and death. It is not certain how he lost his life, whether

¹ Epist. Hadr. Bouquet, V., 549, 547, 548.—Also, as to the pontiff's cf. *ibid.* Epp. 54, 58, 59, on pp. 545, grievances, *ibid.*, p. 546 A.

he fell in combat, or was put to death by his followers, who went over to Charles in large numbers, not voluntarily, however, but by bribery.¹

776] His speedy punishment frightened the rest of the league, and nipped it in the bud. Hrodgaud's father-in-law, Count Stebelinius, with a number of revolted Lombards, withdrew behind the ramparts of Treviso, and prepared to stand a siege. Charles took it by storm, and in like manner marched against the other cities, and conquered them. The story that Treviso was betrayed by Petrus, an Italian priest, who reaped the reward of his treachery in the honors and emoluments of the see of Verdun, is not credited, although the unfortunate bishop labors, let us hope, under the false imputation of having performed the same act in the capture of Pavia.²

The conquered cities were placed under the direction of Frankish counts, the customary oaths were administered; the property of the rebels was confiscated, a number of whom were sent into banishment. Charles gave one of the sequestered estates to his devoted adherent, the grammarian Paulinus, the same who afterwards became patriarch of Aquileia,³ and divided the others, as was his wont, among his warriors and the Church. The rebellion was quelled, the league evaporated, Rome continued safe, and Charles, with more pressing work on hand in Francia, denying himself the pleasure of an excursion to Rome, as quickly as he had come recrossed the mountains blessed with prosperity and victory,⁴ and accompanied by a number of prisoners, among whom is mentioned by name the Lombard Arichis, a brother of Paul the Deacon.

The devotion of Arichis to the Lombard dynasty entailed separation from his wife and children, who languished in misery, and his own most sad and long captivity.

Six years later his brother, the deacon, also strongly

¹ Annal. Einh.; Lauriss.; Fuld.; cf. Böhmer, *l. c.* Nos. 196 c. 198. Andr. Berg. c. 4.

² MG. SS. IV., 44; VIII., 351.

³ Böhmer, *l. c.* No. 198.

⁴ "Eadem qua venerat velocitate reversus est."—Annal. Einh.; cf. Lauriss., and note 2, p. 169.

attached to the Lombards, in a touching poem interceded for him with Charles, and obtained his freedom.

This was the occasion of his personal relations to Charles, and removal to Francia.¹

The annals suppress the reason why Charles did not go to Rome, and their language is misleading. He spent more than two months in Italy after the fall of Treviso, and had plenty of time to visit Rome, had such been his purpose.

But he clearly avoided Hadrian, and felt as reluctant to admit his inordinate claims to territorial possessions, alleged to have been given or promised to St. Peter, as to espouse his cause against the archbishop of Ravenna, the duke of Spoleto and others.

The archbishop of Ravenna had the king's ear, and more influence with him than Hadrian. Charles, moreover, had confirmed to its duke the duchy of Spoleto, which the pontiff claimed for St. Peter; and, in fact, had completely ignored him in the recent regulation of the affairs of the Peninsula.

Under such circumstances a meeting with Hadrian would have been painfully embarrassing, and for these reasons Charles returned to Francia without visiting Rome.²

This brief and brilliant Friulian campaign illustrates, perhaps better than any other as yet presented, one of the most striking characteristics of the military ability of Charles. The thirty-two years of Saxon warfare mark the relentless and inexorable purpose of the tyrant, the conquest of Lombardy the skill of the strategist and tactician, the invasion of Spain the wisdom of the disappointed general, but this Friulian expedition shows the genius of Charles and the versatility of his powers.

Even now, with all the appliances and conveniences of modern contrivance, the sight of an equestrian in any of the hollow approaches to the Alpine passes, who in mid-

¹ Annal. Lauriss., MG. SS. Lang. 15.—Versus Pauli ad regem precando, in Poet. Lat. aev. Carolin. I., 47 sq.—Cf. Abel-Simson, *l. c.* I., 253.

² See Abel-Simson, *l. c.* I., 253, together with his authorities and references, especially to Codex Carol. Nos. 57, 58, in Bibl. Rer. Germanic. IV., 190. sqq.

winter proposed so difficult and perilous an undertaking would undoubtedly receive the old man's advice so generously given to the hero of "Excelsior;" but think of that magnificent *scara* of troopers, which left Schlettstadt about New Year, 776, and its wonderful achievements! The roads, bad at all seasons of the year, at least at that time, were buried in snow; the terrible savageness of ice-bound precipices along whose slippery edge ran their course might make the boldest shudder as he looked upward past sombre and icicled pines to the rocky needles which shot from the base of eternal whiteness into the sky, and down into the black depths of certain death in the wild, seething and roaring waters which yawned at his feet; a storm, a false step, meant destruction to the mail-clad *scara*, which in biting cold, and through blinding snow, followed the intrepid captain, who did what only Hannibal and Cæsar had done before.

He crossed the mountains, swept over the plains of Lombardy with incredible speed, strangled the revolt, punished the offenders, and made such wise dispositions in the administration of the conquered territory, that for several years to come revolt did not dare to lift its head.

Celerity and executive ability of the highest order achieved this remarkable success in the course of a few months, in a country distracted by faction, jealousy, and misrule. Such was the power of his presence, and the dread of his revenge, that he might leave to his lieutenants the administration of affairs, and attract the rich and spontaneous homage of the duke Hildebrand of Spoleto, who sought and delighted the new king of the Lombards with a visit of state which he paid to him at Verzenay, in the heart of his Frankish dominions.

779] Still he felt the necessity of an early return into Italy, and embraced the opportunity of a lull in the Saxon tempest to make a prolonged stay.

The objects of the journey were strictly peaceable; one was religious, the other political.¹

It was in fulfilment of a religious vow coupled with the

¹ Annal. Einh. Lauriss., Mosell.

desire of praying at the tomb of the apostles, and taking personal cognizance of the internal and external affairs of Italy, that orders were given for the progress, in which the Court and part of the royal family participated.

The family of Charles was already large; he had eight children living, two by Himiltrud, and six by Queen Hildegard; altogether four sons and four daughters. Pepin, surnamed the Hunchback, and Rothaid were the children of Himiltrud, while Charles, Rothrud, Bertha, Carloman, Louis, and Gisla were those of the latter.

Of these Pepin and Charles remained at Worms; the others accompanied him to Italy.¹

Couriers were despatched to prepare the way and announce his coming; the royal party travelled under strong military escort, and probably followed the course of Constance,² Chur, and the Splugen; in the absence of royal palaces, villas, or hotels, the monastic and religious establishments on the road offered convenient resting places. It was late in the year when the King of the Franks and of the Lombards made his entry into Pavia, and took up his residence in the palace for the winter.

781] Much public business of a miscellaneous nature arising from the conquest, and inadequate, vague, or conflicting legislation, such as the conduct of the counts and judges, the adjustment of claims, and the correction of abuses, engaged his attention. Two capitularies were set forth, one in the Diet which he held at Mantua, some time before the middle of March,³ whose provisions disclose a most unenviable state of society. The country was infested by robbers; Christian and pagan serfs were sold into slavery; tolls were unlawfully extorted, and the ends of justice most shamefully perverted. Even the pope had been accused, it is thought by the duke of Spoleto, of encouraging the nefarious traffic in slaves, and Charles wrote to him on the subject. A few paragraphs from his reply shed some light on it:

¹ Same authorities as in the last note.

² Radpert Casus S. Galli, c. 3.

³ Boretius, Capitul. 108.

"You advert," he writes, "to the slaves whom we Romans are said to have sold to the infamous race of the Saracens. God knows that we never committed or authorized such criminal work. But the Lombards on the sea-coast have always kept up this trade with the Greek pirates, and supplied them with slaves. We commanded duke Allo to fit out several galleys, chase the said pirates, and burn their vessels; but he disobeyed our orders, and we, having neither ships, nor sailors to man them, cannot do anything in the matter. But God is our witness that we have not ceased doing all we were able for stopping that shameful business. Thus, when Greek pirates entered our port of Centumcellæ [that is, Civita Vecchia], we caused their ships to be burned, and their crews imprisoned. Even at the time of the recent famine, the Lombards knew how to turn the general distress to their own advantage by engaging still more extensively in the slave trade, and entire Lombard families are known to have gone voluntarily on board the Greek vessels as their last means of escape from otherwise inevitable starvation. . . .

"Your sublimity should not credit the calumnies against our clergy. The more lovingly we feel towards you, so much the more the enemies of the Church sow the tares of discord. But through the aid of God and the intercession of St. Peter, their efforts will fail, and we confide in the words of the Psalmist: *Disperdat Dominus universa labia dolosa et linguam maliloquam.* Ps. II., 4."¹

On his way to Rome Charles stopped at Parma and there met for the first time Alcuin, who even then bore the reputation of being a very learned and virtuous man, and was on his way to England charged with the mission of carrying the *pallium* to the archbishop of York. He extended to him a cordial invitation to settle in Francia.²

The royal family spent Easter at Rome. The pope had long since expressed the desire of assuming sponsorial duties to one of the royal princes, and now had the gratifica-

¹ Hadr. Ep. Bouquet V., 557.

² Vita Alc.—Jaffé, Bibl. VI., 17, cf. Mon. Sang. I., 1, 2.

tion, probably on Easter Even, of christening the second son of Hildegard. He had borne before the name of Carloman, but it was changed to that of Pepin, perhaps in compliment of the pope, for the popes had cause to cherish that name. The event explains the expression *compater* which thenceforth appears in Hadrian's letters to Charles. But the official acts of the pontiff were not confined to the christening, for he solemnly crowned and anointed his godson Pepin king of Italy, and his younger brother Ludwig, or Louis, king of Aquitaine. Both kings were very youthful; his majesty of Italy numbered four summers, and his brother of Aquitaine only three.¹

The royal offerings appear to have been truly magnificent, for as such we may regard the donation of the Sabinensian territory. The pope seems to speak of the entire Sabina, but the appointment of a royal commission charged with the duty of examining into his *claims* warrants the conclusion that it was restricted to the patrimony of St. Peter in that territory.²

(It is said that the pope had been approached by the Empress Irene, through her ambassadors, in the matter of an attempted reunion of the East and the West by means of intermarriages. There is no doubt whatsoever that the Princess Rothrud, the eldest daughter of Hildegard, a young lady of eight, was solemnly affianced to the Emperor Constantine (Porphyrogenitus), about two years her senior. The Greeks converted her name into Erythrea, and it was arranged that a Constantinopolitan officer came to the court of Charles and taught her Greek. There the matter ended, for the engagement was ultimately annulled. There is no evidence that the betrothal of the children covered the project of a matrimonial alliance by their parents.

The presence of Hildegard, morality, politics, and last, not least, the unenviable reputation of Irene (of having poisoned the Emperor Leo, her husband) may be adduced

¹ Cod. Carol., Jaffé, No. 61.—An-
nal. Lauriss., Einh., al. cf. Vita
Hlud. c. 4.

² Cod. Car. ibid. Nos. 73, 74, cf.
70-72; and compare the authorities
in Böhmer, *l. c.* 226, a.

as grounds for discrediting the rumor, at least at this time.

Some think, and probably they are right, that the plan of separate kingdoms with nominal but visible figure heads originated with the pope. One cannot read without a smile the grave contemporary notice that Charles on that Easter Day divided his dominions among his sons;¹ as a matter of fact the whole arrangement was fictitious, for he held the reins of government with a firm grasp until he died. The juvenile kings were solemnly established in their capitals, put in charge of nurses, governesses, tutors, and guardians, who received their instructions down to the minutest particulars from Charles, and were required to keep him well informed of all their acts. He was also in the habit of despatching at stated intervals his *missi*, or special commissioners, whom he empowered to inquire into the conduct of the guardians, and, if necessary, to correct or cancel their acts. The record is silent as to the ceremonial observed with respect to the introduction of Pepin into Lombardy; but we know almost to a certainty that Rotechild, apparently an arbitrary man, was his *baiulus*, that is, his guardian and administrator. The common statement, that abbot Adalhard, and Angilbert, the latter with the title of *primicerius*, officiated in that capacity during the minority of Pepin, is untenable.²

In the case of Louis the information is fuller. The *baiulus* Arnold was chief-guardian, and with him went a number of Frankish officers of rank and ability, "distinguished not only for bravery and firmness, but also for adroitness, and such as they should be, to be neither deceived nor scared by the cunning, fickle, and turbulent populations with whom they had to deal." A company of good nurses, under strong military escort, took charge

¹ Annal. S. Am.

² Vita Adalh. c. 16, is adduced in favor of Adalhard; Alcuini, ep. 4, 5 (Jaffé), in favor of Angilbert; and Mu-

ratori, *Antiq. Ital.*, II., 977 sq., in favor of Rotechild.

See the merits of the question in Simson *l. c.* II., 435, note 6; 436, notes 1, 2.

of the juvenile majesty of Aquitaine, and conducted him in a cradle from the banks of the Meuse to those of the Loire. At Orleans they took him out of the cradle and prepared him for more dignified and martial presentation of the people. They encased him in a coat of mail, expressly constructed for his tender frame, gave him suitable weapons, set him on a charger, and, as he was too small to guide it or sit alone, held him in place, and thus introduced him into his dominions.¹

The political situation in Italy was thoroughly discussed by Hadrian and Charles, and the former, as we know from his epistles, did not spare his insinuations as to the inimical attitude of Arigiso, the powerful duke of Benevento, a son-in-law of the dethroned Desiderius.

He was truly a thorn in his eye, but Arigiso had cause to say that Hadrian was literally a scourge in his side. The pontiff saw his interest in the humiliation of so dangerous a neighbor, and would fain have persuaded Charles to overrun him with war, so that the patrimony of St. Peter, unrighteously withheld by the husband of Adelberga, might be restored, and so forth.²

The time for Frankish intervention in Benevento had not yet come, but there was another son-in-law of Desiderius, the duke of Bavaria, whose attitude was far from satisfactory to Charles. It is difficult to understand how Hadrian came to interfere, if he acted *proprio motu*, or at the instance of Charles. At any rate, a mixed embassy, composed of two bishops representing the pope, and of the deacon Riculf and the cupbearer Eberhard on the part of Charles, was sent to the refractory duke, to remind him of his oath of allegiance and demand its renewal.³

Leaving this embassy on its way to Bavaria, we accompany Charles to Milan, where the archbishop Thomas did for the baby of the royal household, the princess Gisla, what the pope had done in the case of Pepin, that is, he baptized her **781, June]** and stood sponsor.⁴

¹ Vita Hlud., c. 4.

² Cod. Carol., ed. Jaffé; Nos. 66,

87.

³ Ann. Einh.

⁴ Annal. Lauriss.

By this time Charles had obtained abundant evidence of great and sore evils in the body politic of his transalpine possessions, and set forth other capitularies, one emanating from a council of bishops, the other from an assemblage of ecclesiastical and secular dignitaries. They disclose a state of things which requires no commentary, except that of subsequent legislation; bishops and the inferior clergy, together with abbots, monks and nuns, led most scandalous lives, not only in violation of the Canons and the Rule, but of morality and decency; one capitulum denounces in general terms the shameful practices which disgraced the Church and scandalized the people, and others command, but only on pain of pecuniary fines, the immediate annulment of marriages contracted by nuns, and of adulterous and incestuous connections; some are directed against witchcraft and superstition, others against injustice, extortion, bribery, sacrilege, perjury, and homicide. Lesser matters, such as the perversion of benefactions, the misapplication of trusts, the shelter or unlawful detention of fugitive serfs, are of constant recurrence; and we learn from the abuses to which they gave rise, of the existence of *exenodochia*, that is, of venerable places in which poor, or at least impecunious travellers, or pilgrims, received gratuitous entertainment.

The strong arm and inflexible purpose of Charles were needed, but not adequate for moulding such a chaos of wrong into the orderly workings of justice and right.¹

781] The embassy to Tassilo was in so far successful that he listened to their representations and promised, if hostages were given him for his personal safety, to repair to the Diet and do as he was required. Charles acceded to his request, received his homage, and took twelve hostages for his future good behavior. Tassilo repaired to Worms, and renewed the oath of allegiance to Charles which he had before rendered to Pepin, and whereby he promised fidelity and obedience to the king of the Franks and his sons.

He also brought rich presents to Charles, and in return

¹ Boretius; *l. c.* 104, 107, 125, 128, 129, 130, 135.

received the villas of Ingolstadt and Lutrahahof in the *Nordgau* as a *beneficium*. The king dismissed him in the most honorable manner.¹ The duke returned to Bavaria, but at the instigation of the duchess Liutperga, soon forgot his oaths, abandoned his hostages, and fell into his old disloyal ways.²

A few years passed, but the situation in Benevento and Bavaria grew worse. Hadrian and the duke were at daggers drawn, and such was the adroit policy of the former and his influence with Charles, that he persuaded him to begin hostilities on the plea that the conquest of Lombardy (and the capture of its king) necessarily involved that of a vassal province. Though an idle pretext it commended itself to the judgment of the conqueror who, deeming the juncture propitious, hastily collected a large army, with **786]** out mishap of any kind proceeded to Florence, where King Pepin, now in his ninth year, joined him, and hastened to Rome. The pope advised immediate invasion of the Beneventan territory. Arigiso, convinced of the utter hopelessness of successful resistance, sought to avert the coming storm by diplomacy. He sent rich presents by the hands of his son Rumold, and begged the king of the Franks to abandon the plan of invasion, as he was content in all points to comply with his requests. It seems therefore that a formal requisition, the terms of which are not known, had taken place, that it had been refused, and that a Frankish army of occupation was the consequence of the refusal. The pope advised Charles to reject the overtures of Arigiso as unsatisfactory, for he had no confidence in the duke's good faith, and easily persuaded the Frankish nobles to express themselves to the same purpose.

787] Charles held Rumold, marched to Capua, and went into camp. His rejection of the Beneventan proposals greatly alarmed Arigiso, who had sought safety behind the walls of the fortified sea-town of Salerno, and now sent a

¹ Annal. Lauriss. maj. MG. SS. I., a. 806, c. 2, Capp. I., 127; and Abel-162 compared with I., 170; Annal. Simson *l. c.* I., 397, notes 1, 2. Einh., Petav., Enh. Fuld.—Div. regn. ² Annal. Lauriss., Einh., *al*

second embassy with rich presents, offering both his sons as hostages, together with others, in guarantee of his good faith. The king was touched by his prayers, took twelve hostages, to which he added a thirteenth in the person of Grimoald, the duke's second son, released Rumold, and prompted by the humane and religious consideration that his acceptance of the proffered submission would prevent the devastation of the country and the desolation of churches and monasteries, ordered the cessation of hostilities. Arigiso moreover engaged to pay an annual tribute of seven thousand solidi, surrendered the alleged patrimony of St. Peter, and both he, together with Rumold, and his people, swore fealty to the king of the Franks.¹

The peace augmented the possessions of the Church, to which Charles presented the city of Capua, and, if the Roman allegations are true, likewise the cities of Populonia, Rosellae, Toscanella, Viterbo, Bagnarea, Sora, Arce, Aquino, Arpino, and Teano. But this must be doubted until documentary evidence, thus far unproduced, establishes the claim.²

A donation of certain Beneventan cities was made, and the instrument is said to have been set forth in the names of the king, the queen, the royal sons, as well as those of the Frankish bishops, abbots, and nobles present. Hadrian repeatedly exhorts the king in his subsequent epistles to fulfil the promise of the cities which he had donated to St. Peter and himself, but mentions only Capua by name. Charles, moreover, seems to have granted to Hadrian Populonia and Rosellae, possibly also Sovana, Toscanella, Viterbo and Bagnorea. But it is impossible to resist the conviction that Hadrian viewed the nature of the grant in one way, while Charles regarded it altogether differently; at any rate its execution fell greatly short of the claims and expectation of Hadrian.³

¹ Annal. Lauriss., maj. et minor; Einh.; Alamann.; Fuld.—See Böhm-er, *l. c.* No. 277 a.—Vita Caroli, c. 10.

² Böhm-er, *l. c.*

³ Simson, *l. c.* I., 571, citing Jaffé IV., 252, 255 sq. 259, 264 sq., cf. Epist. Carol. 4. Annal. Juvav. min., state that Charles "conquered Benevento and gave it to St. Peter," while Annal.

On his return to Rome the case of Tassilo came up. That refractory vassal, duly informed of the king's intentions with regard to Benevento, and anticipating the result, took alarm, and sent an embassy to Rome entreating the good offices of Hadrian with Charles.

The strained relations between Charles and Tassilo were of long standing, and the tension threatened to break out in war.

Tassilo was certainly a vassal of the kings of the Franks; he had sworn fealty to Pepin and Charles; but he made light of his oath, and evaded its obligations.

It is by no means unlikely that his ambassadors, according to the tenor of their instructions, suited their course to the issue of the events pending in Benevento, and were prepared either to make common cause with Arigiso against Charles, or, in the event of his submission to Frankish rule, to invoke the mediation of Hadrian.

The sympathies of Tassilo were entirely with his brother-in-law of Benevento, nor is it surprising that Liutperga, his wife, nursed in her heart hatred against the enemy and destroyer of her house. It was, doubtless, at her instance that, in spite of the peace patched up five years before, he was intriguing against Charles with the Byzantines, the Avars, and Slavonians, as well as the vast army of malcontents in the old Lombard dominions.

Again and again he assumed the conduct of an independent sovereign, and quite recently, while the king was marching against Benevento, undertook to settle a territorial dispute with a Frankish noble in the Tyrol, by the arbitrament of the sword. Tassilo was a good churchman, and Hadrian would fain have laid him under obligations, if he could do so without alienating the good will of Charles. The Bavarian embassy, consisting of Arno, bishop of Salzburg, and Hunrich, abbot of Mondsee, arrived during the Easter festivities,¹ and prevailed with Hadrian to act as

Maxim. MG. SS. XIII., 21, record that he "restored Benevento to St. Peter." —Compare *Forschungen*, I., 527.

¹ Annal. Lauriss. maj., Einh., Maxim., al.; cf. Luden, IV., 350, 542, n. 8.

mediator between Charles and the duke. The king accepted his good offices, and asked the ambassadors what security they could give for the duke's good faith in the future.

They replied, that they had no instructions beyond reporting to their master the words of Charles and Hadrian. This so incensed Hadrian, who suspected trickery, that he forthwith launched the anathema of the Church against Tassilo, notifying the ambassadors that in the event of a further breach of good faith, the responsibility of a sanguinary and destructive war must rest on his guilty head, but that Charles and the Franks should be innocent.

This message the Bavarian ambassadors bore to their master; Charles took leave of Hadrian and set out for Francia, stopping at Pavia, to add to his train many Lombard nobles of suspected loyalty, a number of persons skilled in arithmetic and grammar, together with Theodore and Benedict, two fine musicians, the last for the express purpose of introducing the Gregorian chant in the churches of Francia.

787] He arrived in Germany in time for the May Parade at Worms. Tassilo, who ought to have been in attendance, stayed away; the Assembly heard with great enthusiasm the king's account of the Italian campaign, and with corresponding indignation the course of the Bavarian duke; it was resolved to anticipate the threatened peril to the Frankish monarchy by an immediate declaration of war; three armies were directed to march into Bavaria; one led by Pepin through the valley of the Adige to the Enns; a second, probably commanded by his brother, prince Charles, was massed at Pföding on the Danube, while the third, under the king in person, crossed the Rhine and passed through Suabia to the Lechfeld near Augsburg.

Tassilo was in sore plight; he was simultaneously assailed from three cardinal points; the Greeks and Huns upon whose aid he had counted failed him, and, worse than all, his own subjects deserted him. The stars were against him, but accepting the situation, he went to Charles, humbly

apologized, returned to him, as an ordinary fief, his duchy, and received it again as the king's vassal. This was done by means of a symbolical ceremony; he presented to the sovereign a small staff with the figure of a man engraved on the head; Charles took and then returned it to him; this signified that Tassilo had become his vassal.

The king, moreover, in token of his reconciliation, and of Tassilo's perpetual vassalage, gave him gemmed bracelets of gold, and a steed covered with a housing of cloth of gold. A contemporary poet explains that Charles said while presenting the symbols, "Receive, my son, these symbols of your vassalage," adding that Tassilo then kissed the king's knees, saying, "O King, you wield your office for the happiness of the world, and I acknowledge my service to you world without end." Then he took the royal gifts and repaired to his camp.¹

Both he and the Bavarians, moreover, were required to take the oath of allegiance; Charles also took twelve hostages besides his son Theodo, and bound Tassilo to appear at the forthcoming Diet to be held at Ingelheim near Mayence.²

What occurred during the interval is not known; but to Ingelheim the duke repaired in due course. The Diet was the most imposing thus far convened in that reign; the whole hierarchy of Francia and the most illustrious dignitaries of the realm were assembled. Tassilo came openly without suspicion; he was seized, disarmed, and placed in arrest;³ at the same time the duchess Liutperga, his wife, and their children were surprised and arrested in the palace at Ratis-
788] bon; they also and their hereditary treasure, were transported by royal command to Ingelheim.⁴

A number of Bavarian counts, the counsellors and legates

¹ Annal. Nazar., Cont. MG. SS. I., Lauriss. maj., Einh., Guelf. c. II.
43. contin. MG. SS. I., 43.—Versus Hibern. exulis in Poet. Lat. aev. Carol. I., 399.

² Annal. Einh., Nazar.; Lauriss.

Lauresh., Maxim.—Cf. Vita. Caroli.
³ Annal. Nazar. I. c. Lauriss. maj., Einh., Maxim., al.

⁴ Annal. Nazar., Guelf.

of Tassilo, stood up in the Diet and laid to his charge numerous crimes worthy of death. It was charged that he had, at the instigation of Liutperga, violated his oath, in making overtures to the Avars, in essaying to corrupt the king's vassals, and in recommending or commanding his subjects to take the oath of allegiance with mental reservation; they also charged that he had said "that he would rather lose ten sons, if he had them, and die himself than have them fulfil the obligations he had undertaken on oath; it were better to be dead than endure the disgrace of such a life."

Such was the tenor of the crimes of which he was accused; it is said that he admitted them, and "did not begin to deny any one of these charges." If he was guilty, it would have been madness to attempt a denial; if the charges were trumped up, the assertion of his innocence would not have bettered his case, but probably made it worse. His only chance of escaping the headman's axe was silence, or confession. He understood the temper of his cousin and brother-in-law, and knew that his fate was sealed; he could not possibly err in that conviction, when he found that the crime of *herisliz*, or desertion, of which he was declared to have been guilty twenty-five years before in the time of King Pepin, was raked up and added to the other charges. That was a capital offence, and the High Court of the Diet accordingly convicted him of high treason and condemned him to death.¹

[788] What then occurred in the Diet is not of full record; there was probably a colloquy between Charles and Tassilo, and the unfortunate man doubtless implored the mercy of his all-powerful cousin, nor implored in vain, for Charles of his clemency commuted the sentence of death into compulsory assumption of monastic vows. The act of deposition and degradation, at the further request of Tassilo, did not take place then and there; he was spared that humiliation, and permitted to repair to the neighboring monastery of St. Goar, where the metamorphosis was effected privately. The

¹ Annal. Lauriss. maj., Einh., Lauresh., Nazar., al.

monk who issued forth from that cell was sent to the monastery of Jumièges in Neustria. He went gladly (*libenter*) to that haven of rest in order to spend the residue of his life in acts of penance for his many sins and to save his soul alive.¹

A similar fate was meted out to the whole ducal family. The duchess Liutperga (a daughter of Desiderius and a sister of Desiderata) was compelled to take the veil in a convent,² perhaps that of Chelles, of which Gisla, the king's sister, was abbess; her daughters were forced to renounce the world in that of Laon;³ Theodo and Theotbert, the sons of Tassilo, also became, involuntarily, monks, the former at St. Maximin's, the latter in another monastery not known.

The estates and treasures of the ducal house were confiscated by Charles. Such of the Bavarian nobles as had stood by Tassilo, or even after his degradation had the hardihood of resisting, or attempting to resist, Charles, were sent into exile.⁴

Then, most probably immediately after the adjournment of the Diet, Charles proceeded in person to Bavaria to complete the subjugation of the duchy. He defined the frontiers, especially in the direction of the Avars, by military occupation; undertook the regulation of its internal affairs by immediate annexation and the radical change of its status from that of an independent state into a Frankish province, administered not by a duke, but by counts, acting under his own directions as expounded by his brother-in-law, duke Gerold (brother of the sainted Queen Hildegard),

¹ Annal. Lauriss. maj., Einh.—Annal. Nazar. say that tonsure was distasteful (*invitus*) to him; Regino, MG. SS. adds that Tassilo prostrated himself before Charles, begging to be permitted to enter a monastery.

² Rudhart, p. 323, names Kochlsee, dioc. of Augsburg; but the place is uncertain.

³ Some say that the Bavarian prin-

cesses, who bore the names of Cotani and Hrodud, were shut up in different convents, the one at Chelles, the other at Laon.—Riezler, *Geschichte Baierns*, I., 170, note.

⁴ Annal. Lauresh., Einh., Lauriss., Nazar., Petav.; Gesta abb. Fontan. c.; 16; Chron. Moiss.; Vita Caroli, c. II.

whom he appointed local governor; he also commanded the attendance of the Bavarian chieftains and nobles and compelled them to give hostages, and in fine, to use the language of one of the annals, "arranged things as he pleased."¹ Thus ended the ancient and independent principality of Bavaria, and thus perished the house of the Agilolfingians.²

All these things, we learn, redounded to the glory and honor of the king, but to the shame and confusion of his enemies, because the Creator of the world made him always to triumph;³ yea, writes another obsequious scribe, that year Almighty God himself fought for the lord king Charles, as of old he fought for Moses and the children of Israel at the Red Sea; for the mighty divine combatant delivered Bavaria into his hand without war or a word of strife.⁴

The Bavarians doubtless thought differently, but what could they do? They submitted to the *force majeure*, and hoped for better times.

The tantalizing mystification, which runs through the whole of the biography of Charles as writ by Einhard, and often amounts to perversion, may be illustrated by his presentation of the seizure of Bavaria. "At this time," he says, "the Bavarian war broke out on a sudden, but came to a speedy end." It was due to the arrogance and folly of duke Tassilo. His wife, a daughter of King Desiderius, was desirous of avenging her father's banishment through the agency of her husband, and accordingly induced him to make a treaty with the Huns, the neighbors of the Bava-

¹ Annal. Lauresh. Fragm. Chesnii, MG. SS. I., 33.

² Annal. Lauriss.; Lauresh.; Maxim., Einh.; S. Amandi.; Vita Caroli, c. 11. The regulation of Bavarian affairs is only vaguely stated in Annal. Lauriss., Lauresh., Maxim., S. Amandi, cf. Petav. Bavarian documents extant are dated thus: "regnante Charlo rege primo anno quando adquisivit gentem Baiuvariorum," M.B. 25^b, 13, 16, 19, 31; a Freising docu-

ment has: "Baiuvariam adquisivit ad (ac) Tassilonem clericavit," Meichelbeck, 1b, 80, no. 100; and bishop Arno caused the inventory of his church to be drawn up "unacum consensu et licentia d. Karoli regis eodem anno quo ipse Baioariam regionem ad suum opus recepit;" Indicul. Arn. ed. Keinz, 26.

³ Annal. Naz.

⁴ Annal. Franc. a. 788, apud Duchesne, II., 9.

rians on the east, and not only to leave the king's command unfulfilled, but to challenge him to war. Charles's high spirit could not brook Tassilo's insubordination, for it seemed to him to pass all bounds; accordingly he straightway summoned his troops from all sides for a campaign against Bavaria, and appeared in person with a great army on the river Lech, which forms the boundary between the Bavarians and the Alemanni. After pitching his camp upon its banks, he determined to put the duke's disposition to a test by an embassy before entering the province. Tassilo did not think that it was for his own or his people's good to persist, so he surrendered himself to the king, gave the hostages demanded, among them his own son Theodo, and promised by oath not to give ear to any one who should attempt to turn him from his allegiance; so this war, which bade fair to be very grievous, came very quickly to an end. Tassilo, however, was afterwards summoned to the king's presence, and not suffered to depart, and the government of the province that he had in charge was no longer intrusted to a duke, but to counts."¹

Reviewing the case of Tassilo it seems established that the invincible desire of independence was the remote cause of his fall, and his unpardonable offence. He doubtless felt and believed that the title of the Frankish sovereigns to the suzerainty of Bavaria was neither clear nor absolute. He saw in them the relentless enemies of his house, the usurpers of his hereditary rights and possessions. This explains his conduct in the reign of Pepin, and afterward in that of Charles. Alone, and uninfluenced by Liutperga, the daughter of the degraded and exiled king of the Lombards, he might have submitted with good grace and acted the part of a faithful vassal; but her antipathy to Charles gave him no rest, and fanned the embers of his discontent into open and persistent antagonism.

That antagonism, however, was not shared by his subjects, who were more loyal to Charles than to their duke,

¹ Vita Caroli, c. 11.

and, if we may credit the Frankish annals, not only acknowledged the justice of his claim, but preferred acquiescence to hostile opposition.¹ The papal bann of excommunication, moreover, widened the breach between the duke and his people; even bishop Arno, his own ambassador to Hadrian, seems to have shared the popular feeling, and aware of the sentiments both of the pope and Charles, used his influence with Tassilo to counsel submission.²

Such was the situation at the time of the impressive ceremony in the Lechfeld. Then Tassilo returned to Ratisbon, while Charles conducted his army into Francia, and set up his court at Ingelheim near Mayence.

The duke of Bavaria, in spite of his solemn oath of allegiance and the acceptance of the symbols of his vassalage, took immediate steps towards making it of non-effect. His course was most impolitic and injudicious; indeed an illustration of the old adage, that those whom God wishes to destroy, He first makes mad. He opened commerce with the enemies of Charles, and denounced him to his people; he absolved his subjects from the consequences of their oath, and recommended them to swear with mental reservation; he committed himself to the utterance of impassioned and hostile sentiments; he remained blind to the fact that he was surrounded by spies and enemies who reported all he said or did to Charles.

His doom was fixed before he went to Ingelheim, and we can hardly doubt that the plan of his arrest, trial, humiliation, and degradation had been minutely mapped out.

His own subjects, the most trusted and prominent of his counsellors, were his accusers, and when he was taken before the Diet, he must have felt that his case was utterly hopeless.

The crowning accusation of the capital offence of *herisliz* demonstrates, first, that the charges enumerated were probably exaggerated, at any rate not sufficiently established by evidence to justify extreme measures; and, secondly, that

¹ Annal. Lauriss. maj.

² See the notes in Simson, *l. c.* I.,

599 — Arno appears soon after as the partisan of Charles.

it was the set purpose of Charles to ruin Tassilo. None but Charles would have dared to unearth that old and seemingly forgotten crime of high treason.

When Tassilo heard the word *herisliz* in the accusation his heart must have failed him, for he knew that it meant death. Then monastic imprisonment was his only hope.

Charles did not favor half measures, and effectually settled the Bavarian question by visiting the disgrace and degradation of Tassilo on all the members of his family. He made them all harmless and the whilom duchy of Bavaria sunk into a province of the Frankish Empire.

Special pleading may succeed in justifying the course of Charles on the ground of political necessity, but even-handed justice condemns it as violent and cruel usurpation.

The absorption of Bavaria into the Frankish system made the empire of Charles stand forth, well rounded off, in all the splendor of an unbroken whole from the Atlantic to the Elbe, from southern Italy to the northern seas.

Only once more in the course of history re-appears the fallen Tassilo, at a place and a time where we might least expect him. The place was the Synod of Frankfort, and the time, the year of grace 794. The scene of Ingelheim was re-enacted, and, as it were, legalized by a Council of the Church. He was dragged from the obscurity of his cell, and introduced to the Synod, the veriest object of misery, invoking the royal clemency, because of his numerous crimes, both in the reign of the late King Pepin and in that of the present most pious King Charles. He renounced, without all wrath and strife, from the plenitude of a truly penitent heart and pure mind, then and for all time to come any and every claim in behalf of himself, his sons and daughters, to all his lawful possessions in Bavaria, and left the fate of his children in the hands of the mighty King of the Franks. Then, when Charles as *sobrinus*, or cousin-german, of the deposed and now beggared Tassilo, had secured the full legal title to all the personal property at stake, his bowels of mercy constrained him to extend to him the richest and freest token of forgiveness, and receive him

to the warmth of his love so that thenceforth he might bask in the sunshine of divine mercy. To make quite sure of the legal consequences of this formal renunciation and abdication, the article was drawn up in triplicate, one to be put for safe-keeping in the palace archives, another in the chapel archives of the holy palace, and a third as a precious keepsake to Tassilo, "that he might have it by him in the monastery."¹ The ducal monk and cousin of the king left the council, and as history does not unfold the record of the tender mercies of Charles to Tassilo, his duchess, and their children, it is to be hoped that such record may be found in the book of God's remembrance.²

Not even the year of his death is known, but he died on the eleventh day of December, and traces of the house of the Agilolfingians have been found in the eleventh century.³

¹ Annal. Lauresh., Baluze, Capit. I., p. 263, MG. Leg. I., 72.

² The mother of Tassilo was Hiltrud, sister of King Pepin. It is said that after the Synod of Frankfort, Tassilo, together with his sons, were sent to the Cœnobium Gemmeticense, dioc. Rotomagensis; how long they remained there none can tell; but three tumuli are indicated as their last

resting-place; "tres enervati, ut vocant, in isto monasterio sepulti jacent, quorum tumuli hactenus in oratorio S. Petri visuntur."—Le Cointe, *Annal. Eccl. Franc.*, VI., p. 5 sq.—See the concluding section of Chapter VII. for additional details relating to Tassilo.

³ Riezler, *Geschichte Baierns*, I., 171.

CHAPTER VII.

CONQUEST OF THE AVARS.

The Avars.—Preparations.—March.—Pepin's raid.—Stampede of the enemy.—Devastation.—The Avars seek Christianity.—Exploit of Eric.—The "Ring."—The spoils.—Baptism of Avars.—Pepin's aftermath.—Missionary work.—Eric's victory.—Death of Gerold and Eric.—The end.

788] CHARLES sequestered Bavaria to his own use on the plea that it was his of right, as appears most clearly from the preamble of a diploma in which he donates the monastery of Chiemsee to the archiepiscopal church at Metz. It deserves to be preserved as affording insight into the hidden workings of his diplomacy, and an example of the forensic medicine which he administered to his conscience. It runs as follows:

"Whereas the duchy of Bavaria, which for some time past had been unfaithfully subtracted and alienated from our Frankish dominions by wicked men, to wit Odilo, and Tassilo our relative, but has now, thanks to the interposition of Divine Providence favoring our righteous cause, been recalled to our proper jurisdiction," therefore, etc., etc.¹

We have seen that he took immediate and effective measures for the absolute subjugation of the entire province, proceeded in person to Ratisbon, and summoned to his presence the Bavarian nobles, requiring them to swear fealty and give hostages. He defined and protected the frontiers,

¹ See Mühlbacher, *l. c.* No. 289. "Quia ducatus Baioariae ex regno nostro Francorum aliquibus temporibus infideliter per malignos homines Odilonem et Tassilonem, propinquum nostrum, a nobis subtractus et alienatus fuit, quem nunc, moderatore iustiarum deo nostro adjuvante, ad propriam revocavimus dicionem."—Date of document, October 25th, 788. Apud Sickel K. 120; Kleinmayr, *Juvavia, Anhang*, p. 48, No. 8.

especially in the East against the predatory incursions of the Avars, regulated the internal affairs of the duchy, divided it into *gauen* or cantons, set a count over each *gau*, and assigned the supreme direction to count Gerold, a man of worth and ability. The whole country was thoroughly *francised*, but due regard was had to the traditions, habits, and feelings of the people, to whom he guaranteed their ancient laws, and while holding them liable to military service, accorded to them the privilege of eligibility to public offices in other parts of the Frankish dominions. Royal commissioners (*missi*) moreover might arrive at any time, take cognizance of the conduct of every part of the public service, and report to him the result of their visitation.¹

In close connection with the deposition of Tassilo must be named the grandiose conspiracy which the ever watchful Hadrian traced to the machinations of that unfortunate man and his Lombard brothers-in-law, the duke Arigiso, and Adelchis, the son of Desiderius, who had plotted the overthrow of the Frankish empire by a double blow to be struck simultaneously in Italy and Bavaria. The plot, if it really had such vast and quixotic aims, belonged of course to the secular days of the now monastically secluded and penitent duke, who stood convicted of having called the Avars to his aid.

788] It is a fact that two columns of those swarthy and fleet savages made a simultaneous attack on the Marche of Friuli and the eastern districts of Bavaria, but were repulsed by Frankish prowess in both quarters, and chased back to their own country with great loss. Undismayed by their failure, and eager to wipe out the disgrace of defeat, they returned with incredible speed and in greater numbers on the frontiers of Bavaria, but failed again, for the Bavarians not only offered effective resistance, but pursued them; an innumerable multitude, it is said, was slain in the encounter, and many of those who escaped the sword

¹ Annal. Lauriss., Lauresh., Maxim.; Vita Car. c. 11; Baluze, Capit. I., p. 208, cf. Chron. Moiss.

perished in the surging depths of the blue Danube, as they tried to swim across.¹

Such were the preliminaries of the war against the Avars, which will now engage our attention.

790] The Avars were troublesome neighbors, and their periodical incursions most vexatious to the people on the Bavarian frontier. It is charged that those pagans not only came to rob, but that they devastated the country, and destroyed the churches; they had no respect for laws human or divine, and did as they pleased. The king's *missi* warned them off, and they claimed a portion of his dominion as their own territory and stayed. Threats followed, and the result was an Avar embassy to Charles, which he returned by one from himself. Commissioners were appointed to negotiate concerning the delimitation of the frontier. The negotiations were protracted, and ended, as similar negotiations are still apt to end, in aggravated variance, and embittered hostility. Angry disputations followed, and the king, persuaded that it was his special mission to convert the heathens, resolved upon war. "He took it up," we learn, "with more spirit than any of his other wars, and made far greater preparations for it."²

A war with a people, regarded with abhorrence by all the nations of Europe, was sure to be popular. The Huns were more martial and formidable than their modern cousins the Chinese. In the eighth century the remembrance of Attila and his hordes was still fresh, and the sight of a Hun provoked bitterness. The Huns were believed to be invincibly cruel, and compared "to the animals that walk very awkwardly on two legs, and to the misshapen figures, the *Termini*, which were often placed on the bridges of antiquity; they were distinguished from the rest of the human species by their broad shoulders, flat noses, and small black eyes, deeply buried in the head; and as they were almost destitute of beards, they never enjoyed either the manly graces of youth, or the venerable aspect of age."³

¹ Annal. Einh.

² Annal. Einh., Lauriss.; Adon. Chron.; Vita Caroli, c. 13.

³ Gibbon, *Decl. and Fall*, c.

xxvi. See notes in Smith's ed., London, 1854.

The preparations were on a gigantic scale, and we read of "an innumerable multitude," and many thousands of **791**] horses; throughout the winter the whole Frankish world was in commotion; orders for the mobilization of all available troops were sent to every part of the empire, and as soon as the weather allowed the king himself set out for Bavaria, while all Europe was preparing for the contest to be waged for the acquisition of some of her fairest and richest lands.

He ordered the formation of three separate army corps; the Italians, massing in Friuli, commanded nominally by King Pepin, but in reality by the dukes of Istria and Friuli, were ordered to advance from the south; a colossal concentration of troops from Gaul and Germany took place under his own eyes. Ratisbon witnessed an imposing muster, at which Louis of Aquitaine, then in his thirteenth year, according to ancient usage was advanced to the degree of a warrior by receiving formally, before the whole army, the investiture of the sword.¹ He accompanied his father as far as the Cumeoberg, and then returned, probably as the bearer of important despatches for Queen Fastrada, to Ratisbon.

Then followed a *placitum* at which the nobles of the united Franks, Saxons, and Frisians resolved upon war with **791**] the Avars in punishment of the many grievous and intolerable acts of malice which they had inflicted on the Franks and the Church of God.²

The hierarchy invoked the divine blessing on so laudable an enterprise, and forth went the victorious hosts of Charles in the following order:

Count Theoderic, of Süntel fame, and the chamberlain Magenfrid, led a column of Franks, Saxons, and Frisians, through southern Bohemia to the Danube, and followed the course of that river on its northern bank; Charles with the remaining troops took the southern bank and marched upon Pannonia; while the Bavarians, on board a fleet with the

¹ Vita Hludov. c. 6.

² Annal. Lauriss., Chron. Regino.

commissariat, descended the river, and kept open communication between the two armies.

The march was interrupted at the confluence of the Enns and the Danube; the former river being the recognized boundary between the Bavarians and the Avars, a religious service was ordered to inaugurate the war. The whole army went into camp, sheathed the sword and united with the clergy in a three days' fast and litany of prayers for their safety and victory.

We glean many particulars of this interesting and striking incident from an epistle of Charles addressed to the queen. The solemn exercises of the *triduum* of litanies were appointed for the express purpose of invoking the divine blessing on the martial enterprise of the Frankish host. It must have been an imposing, impressive, and edifying spectacle. Charles, the clergy, and the whole army made their humble supplication for peace, safety, and victory, a prosperous march, and a successful campaign, devoutly and fervently praying that God of His mercy and goodness would vouchsafe to guide, help, and defend the Franks in all their tribulations.

This *triduum* moreover bore a penitential character; it was a Lenten exercise in September, and the entire host, by royal command and episcopal injunction, were required for the space of three days to forego the use of wine and meat. Quite a number of bishops were present; among them Angilram, archbishop of Metz and archchaplain of Charles, Sindpert, bishop of Ratisbon, and Arno, bishop of Salzburg.

Abstinence was to be general, except on the part of the sick, and such as by reason of old age or tender youth were physically unable to observe it. Provision was also made for valetudinarians requiring the use of wine, who, if they were rich, might on payment of a solidus a day indulge their taste, while those in more humble circumstances could procure a license for a denarius a day.

It was likewise recommended that every person according to his ability should make an offering in alms. Every cleric was expected, unless prevented by sickness, to say a spe-

cial mass; and, if skilled in psalmody, to chant fifty psalms. All the clergy moreover were enjoined to walk barefooted.

Charles, in communicating some of these details to Fastrada, recommended her to propitiate Heaven, by causing similar litany processions to be arranged at Ratisbon, but cautioned her not to overtax her strength by too rigid fasting. He wrote feelingly on the subject, for he knew that fasting did not agree with him, and the queen, being in delicate health, might follow his example.

Taking all in all, this *triduum* of litanies together with the fast was a strange religious preparation for the indiscriminate plunder, devastation and slaughter, which marked the progress of the Franks through the country of the Avar Canaanites.¹

The phraseology of the prayer also seems a strange perversion of fact. Is it not a stretch of the imagination to represent so purely aggressive a war as that with the Avars as a tribulation of the Franks? It was a terrible and crushing tribulation to the Avars, but a triumphant exultation to their Christian foe.

In this camp Charles received messengers from his son Pepin, informing him that his army had already invaded the enemy's country and on the 23d of August scored a great victory; the engagement, he wrote, was most disastrous to the Avars, and their loss in slain very great; it was the most stinging defeat they were known to have sustained; the victorious Franks also took the fortified camp (the Ring) of the Avars and plundered it; spent all night there, and at 9 A.M. left with the spoils without opposition; they took also a hundred and fifty Avar prisoners, and he desired to know the king's pleasure as to their disposition.

The king's joy was great; a formal declaration of war to the Avars was proclaimed, and immediately followed by the invasion of their territory.²

¹ Annal. Einh., Lauriss.; Epist. Carolin. 6 (Jaffé, IV., 349-351); Vita Caroli, c. 24.—Cf. Annal. Lauresh. Sithiens., Enh. Fuld., Regino.

² Annal. Einh., Lauriss., Lauresh., Meichelbeck, *Hist. Frising.*, I. b 81, 82; Epist. ad Fastradam (Ep. Carol. 6, Jaffé).

The progress of the Frankish hosts was unimpeded; the Avars were strongly intrenched within the fortifications which they had erected on both banks of the river; one of the forts, that on the north bank, stood at the mouth of the river Camp, below Krems; another, on the south side of the Danube, very strong, had been built on the Cumeoberg near the city of Comagenæ, that is, in modern phrase in the *Wiener Wald*, near *Tuln*, above *Klosterneuburg*.¹ If the erection of those forts showed a valorous purpose the event proved that it could not ripen in their craven hearts. The simultaneous advance of two armies on both banks of the Danube, and of the vessels in the river, must have convinced them of the utter hopelessness of resistance; they made not the faintest attempt of defending their forts, but fled like sheep, and allowed the Franks to come up and level them with the ground. The consternation of their flight was unexampled; the clergy saw in it the finger of God; He filled them with dismay, and conducted the hosts of Charles; it was the invasion of Canaan over again; the Avars were the Canaanites, and Charles was Joshua. At his approach, or that of his army, they deserted the trenches, fortifications, and other defences they had set up on the mountains, in the woods or near rivers, surrendered or were cut down and driven to flight; they threw down everything, left their engines and whatever could impede their progress.

They were utterly demoralized from the start, but their miraculous stampede may possibly be explained by the intelligence they possessed of the defeat of their brethren at the hands of the Italian army. But be that as it may, they did nothing to check the advance of Charles. He led his legions to the Raab, crossed that river, and swept along its northern bank to where it joins the Danube.

There he rested for several days, and ordered the army to return by way of Sabaria, the modern *Stein am Anger*, where the old Roman roads met. His army carried fire and sword throughout the whole country for the space of fifty-

¹ See the authorities for these localities in Mühlbacher, *l. c.*, p. 119.

two days. Universal devastation marked the path of all the armies; they carried off "spoil without measure and number, together with a countless multitude of prisoners in men, women, and children." His loss in men was merely nominal, but in horses prodigious, for an epidemic broke out which carried off nine-tenths of those in his own army.

The army-corps of Theoderic and Maginfrid returned by the same way on the northern bank of the Danube through Bohemia, while his own took the southern, and thus retraced its way into Bavaria. Charles disbanded the army, and with his family and the court resided at Ratisbon.

The net results of the expedition were these: the discomfiture of the impotent enemy was as much an established fact as the irresistible power and superiority of the Franks. The terror of their presence was prophetic of the ultimate destiny of the Avars. Their strength was broken, and their final subjugation only a question of time.

Thus closed the first campaign against the Avars.¹

The prosecution of the war was interrupted by several calamities, notably the conspiracy of Pepin the Hunchback, the massacre of count Theoderic, and revolts of the Saxons, as narrated in other connections, when an unexpected circumstance set in, which seemed to contemporary writers an almost miraculous interposition.

Charles was in his camp at Hliune in the Bardengau when there arrived an embassy from the Tudun, one of the most powerful chieftains of the Avars, with the message that he and his people had determined to surrender themselves to the king of the Franks, and accept the Christian faith.²

This was truly wonderful and seemed almost too good to be true; the king was delighted, and forthwith (for thus we construe what ensued) directed the margrave Eric of 795] Friuli, as nearest to the country of the Avars, to take advantage of the internal dissensions of the enemy and

¹ Annal. Lauriss., Einh., Lauresh.; ² Ann. Lauriss., Einh., Enh. cf. Chron. Moiss. Fuld., Poeta Saxo.

strike a blow. The good news of so favorable a turn, and so signal an augury of success spread far and near, and the gentle Alcuin wrote to the patriarch of Aquileia: "How great is the goodness and wisdom of God! by His power and grace the race of the Avars has been wonderfully conquered. They have sent messengers to the king offering to submit in peace, and welcome the Christian faith!"¹

It is known that a most sanguinary and destructive civil war distracted the Avars; and that the Khakhan (*i. e.*, the Khan of the Khans), or supreme ruler, and the Jugur, another chief leader, were put to death by their own people.² At this juncture the raid, organized by the margrave Eric in conjunction with the auxiliary troops of Woinimir, a Sclavonian chief, was carried into effect. It was a brilliant and most successful affair. The troopers invaded Pannonia, swept through the country, entered and plundered the chief Ring, which for centuries had not been molested by an enemy, subdued such of the enemy whom they met, and carried off an immense amount of booty. It was one of the most remarkable exploits, perhaps the most dashing, successful, and important, in the reign of Charles; it stunned, crushed, almost annihilated the power of a foe who for ages past had been the terror of Europe.³

Unfortunately the details of the expedition, of record, are hardly fuller than here narrated, but its results are established beyond all doubt. The stronghold or royal castle 795] the and residence of the Avars, which the Franks call the "ring," and the Lombards "the field,"⁴ is believed to have stood in the level plain between the Danube and the Theiss, and the most recent investigation indicates the Pusste Sarto-Sar, in the neighborhood of Tatar, as the probable site, where traces of the wonderful circular structure are said to have been discovered.⁵ The most circumstantial

¹ Epist. 56.

² Ann. Lauriss., Einh.; cf. Zeuss, *Die Deutschen u. die Nachbarstämme*, pp. 729, 739.

³ Annal. Lauriss., Einh., Enh. Fuld.

⁴ "Hringus" . . . "Campus."—

Annal. Einh., Enh. Fuld. cf. Zeuss, *l. c.*, pp. 4, 73.

⁵ Riezler, *Geschichte Baierns*, I., 182 n.

description, though rather fantastic and legendary, is that which the garrulous and credulous Monk of St. Gall, writing late in the next century, declares to have committed to writing from the oral description of a certain Adalbert, who took part in the fights with the Avars under count Gerold, the supreme count in Bavaria.

The said Adalbert was greatly his senior, a man of only one topic, with which he ceased not to familiarize the Monk, who at the time was a boy, and a rather reluctant hearer. With this explanation the reader may peruse the subjoined account of that interesting and famous locality.

"'The country of the Huns was surrounded with nine rings—'Rings?' asked the boy. 'It was protected by nine walls, or palisades,' explained the old soldier. 'The diameter of the first ring [*i. e.*, the distance of the space enclosed between the first and the second] was equal to the distance from Zurich to Constance.' The palisades were constructed of oak, beech, and pine logs, twenty feet in height and twenty feet in width, filled in with stones and lime, and closely covered above with sod. Trees were planted on the edges. Within the enclosures [*i. e.*, the interspace] the farms and villages were so disposed as to distance that each was so near the other as to fall within reach of the voice. The impregnable walls had narrow gates through which those living within or without the immediate enclosure were wont to issue forth on their predatory excursions. The distance from the second ring, which resembled the first in construction, to the third was equal to twenty German or forty Italian miles, and so on to the ninth, although each succeeding ring was much wider than that before. Homesteads, moreover, were so distributed between the rings, that trumpet-signals given in one were easily heard in the other."¹ The picture suggests a kind of Chinese wall nine times repeated, and the ninth concentric circle would enclose the royal residence, in which the accumulated wealth of ages, collected on predatory excursions,

¹ Monach. Sang. (ed. Jaffé), I., 34; II., 1

from the wars of Attila until then, or extorted as tribute, lay treasured up. Some idea of the last may be had from the undoubted fact that the Greek emperors paid the Avars throughout the seventh century an annual tribute of 80,000 gold solidi, and upon one occasion the emperor Heraclius was forced to submit to the payment of 800,000 gold solidi.¹

The greater part of this wealth in gold and silver coin, sacred vessels, garments, weapons and the like was seized by the raiders, and taken by Eric to Aix-la-Chapelle. Never before had such a multitude of spoil fallen into the hands of the Franks. "Up to that time the Huns had passed for a poor people, but so much gold and silver was found in the khan's palace, and so much valuable spoil taken in battle, that one may well think that the Franks took justly from the Huns what the Huns had formerly taken unjustly from other nations."² It is stated that fifteen wagons each drawn by four oxen, and all laden with the aforesaid treasure, were laid at the feet of Charles.³

His gratitude was great and sincere, and found expression not only in liberal offerings to the churches of Christendom, but in munificent donations to the poor, the counts, the nobility, the royal officers and servants.⁴ A large share of the spoil he set apart as a special offering to Pope Hadrian, but before the gifts left Aix-la-Chapelle, he was

¹ Simson, *l. c.* II., p. 102. Soetbeer in *Forschungen*, IV., 351; II., 336, n. 2.—Büdinger, *Oester. Gesch.*, I., 70. A view different from that presented in the text may commend itself to others. Contemporary and later writers treat the Huns and the Avars as the same people; this is the current opinion, which some denounce as inaccurate. Soetbeer, *l. c.* observes: "It is possible that a large part of the plunder of the Huns found its way into the hands of the Avars; but the evidence is wanting, and the thing itself hardly probable. Nor is

it established that the Avars gathered much booty on their predatory incursions of Western Europe, although they possibly took some." If this be the true state of the case, the mystery of the vast treasure found in the Ring is greater than ever; or are we to hold that the whole of the record is a myth? I accept the record, and the statements of the text rest on it.

² Vita Car., c. 13.

³ Annal. Nordh., Chron. Melr.

⁴ Ann. Lauriss.; Einh., Lauresh., alii.

grieved by the intelligence of his death, of which more remains to be said on a subsequent page; in due course they were sent to his successor; nor did he stop there, for he directed that parts of the Hungarian spoils should be given to the Anglo-Saxon metropolitan cities, and he even remembered the king of Mercia in the presentation of a sword-belt, an Avar sword, and two Syrian palls or cloaks.¹

About this time, we suppose on good grounds,² Charles was delighted that the Tudun, whose ambassadors had brought such good news into the camp at Hliune, kept his promise, and arrived with a large retinue at Aix-la-Chapelle, **796**] made the submission of himself and his people,³ craving Christian baptism. The whole deputation expressed the same readiness, and then, probably at Easter or Whitsuntide, a scene was witnessed in the cathedral, the like of which had never occurred before.

A large number of Avars, so great that it is called "a large part of the Avars," in their strange costume, their hair braided in long tresses, intertwined with cords, falling on their necks, presented themselves for baptism, and were received into the church.⁴ The king himself⁵ received the Tudun from the font, gave honorable treatment to all the converts, and sent them, with rich gifts, to their distant homes.⁶ Their baptism was the theme of universal comment throughout Christendom; the muse of Theodulf described it in metre, the ready pen of Alcuin rehearsed it in prose, and the eloquent lips of Paulinus announced it to a synod in Friuli.⁷

¹ Ep. Carol. 10, 11.

² See them reasoned out in Simson-Abel, *l. c.* II., p. 117.

³ Annal. Lauriss., Einh., Alam. al.

⁴ The same.

⁵ Annal. Maxim.

⁶ Annal. Lauriss., Maxim., Lauresh., Alam. a. 795.

⁷ Theodulf. Carm. 25; Alc. ep. 67; Paul. Aquil. Migne, XCIX., 284. Subjoined are the passages in full.

Adveniunt gentes Christo servire paratae,

Quas dextra ad Christum sollicitante vocas.

Pone venit textis ad Christum crinibus Hunnus,

Estque humilis fidei, qui fuit ante ferox.—Theodulf.

Gentes populosque Hunorum, antiqua feritate et fortitudine formidabiles,

Unfortunately the Tudun's religious sincerity was equal to his political loyalty; he returned to Pannonia but soon fell from both, and miserably perished in captivity without the use of his hands, and the light of his eyes.¹

The Franks followed up the advantage they had gained the year before. A large army, composed of troops collected in Italy, and an auxiliary force of Bavarians and Alemanni, was mustered by Pepin and entered the hostile country. At his coming the new khakhan and many magnates presented offerings and voluntarily made their submission to the Franks. Thus encouraged the martial king of Italy advanced, apparently without opposition, to the "ring," possessed himself of the treasure which Eric's raiders had left, and so effectually demolished the entire enclosure that, "the site of the khan's palace became a desert without all trace of human habitation." That treasure, among other things, contained, if the record is true, many sacred vessels, church ornaments, ecclesiastical vestments, the robes of nuns, and the like, for which the Avars and Huns had a singular fondness, although the uses to which they put them were vile and insulting, it being charged that their own women affected to wear under demoniac influence the hallowed garments of Christian ministers and nuns.²

It is difficult to reconcile this bloodless triumph with the statement, that "the general destruction of the region, and the depopulation of the country, bear witness how many battles were fought in those [seven] years, and how much blood was shed," and that "the entire body of the Hun nobility perished in this contest, and all its glory with it."³

tuis suo honori militantibus subdidit sceptris [Christus] praevenienteque gratia, colla diu superbissima sacrae fidei iugo devinxit et caecis ab antiquo tempore mentibus lumen veritatis infudit. . . .—Alcuin.

de coelo, reddita jam quietissima pace terris, superna prorsus largiente gratia. . . .—Paulinus.

¹ Annal. Einh.; Leibniz, Annal. imp. I., 190.

² Hist. Langob. SS. rer. Langob. et Ital. saec. VI.-IX., 11.—Rhythmus de Pipp., etc. Poet. Lat. aevi Carol. I., 116.

³ Annal. Lauriss.; Alam. (Murb.); S. Amandi.—Rhythmus de Pippin.

Nunc autem divina opitulante clementia attritis utique ferocium barbarorum superbiae typho erectis cervicibus, auxilio per omnia adminiculante

The subjugation of the Avars cannot have been so absolute and entire, for part of them fled across the Theiss, and Pepin not only carried the treasure to Aix-la-Chapelle, but a large number of prisoners. Besides, it is indisputable that, although we may hold in a general way that the operations and events of the present campaign under Pepin mark the epoch of the fall of the Avars,¹ much fighting remained to be done, and the final conquest did not take place till years after.

Their conversion was not lost sight of. The Franks had stripped them of all their earthly treasures, and sent them houseless into the wide world; still they might recover a home, and perhaps earn a living, if they would only renounce the devil, forswear paganism, and become good Christians.

Pepin discussed the matter with a number of bishops in his camp on the Danube, and gravely argued the propriety of administering baptism more frequently than at Easter and Whitsuntide. For thus far the whole of the Christianity of the Avars began and ended with baptism, even 797] without the formal rehearsal of the Creed. It was now proposed to pursue a more judicious and rational course; the rude and ignorant people should receive some Christian instruction and not be baptized by violence. Owing to the small number of priests baptism might be lawfully administered any Sunday in the year. Persons already baptized by lawful ministers should not be re-baptized, while those who had been baptized without a confession of faith, and really undergone only ablution with water, were to be considered unbaptized. The conversion of the Avars engaged the minds of Paulinus and Arno, but ultimately the missionary operations were committed to the care of the bishop of Salzburg, and military measures resumed the very next year by the margrave of Friuli.

A battle was fought in which Eric triumphed, "con-
Avar., 10-12; Vita Caroli, c. 13; ¹ Pauli c. Rom., SS. rer. Langob.
Poeta Saxo., III., 300-302. et Ital., p. 202, a. 796.

quered the country and brought it under the domination of 799] the lord king Charles."¹ But even this battle was not decisive, for only two years later the Avars were again in open insurrection, and falsified the hope of their peaceful submission.²

New fighting ensued, and it is safe to conclude that the Avars showed mettle and scored a success, since the Frankish annals maintain discreet silence as to Frankish victories, and only record the untimely death of count Gerold, one of the best of the generals of Charles. He was "slain, with only two other men in his company, by an unknown hand, while he was marshalling his forces for battle against the Huns; and riding up and down the line encouraging each of his command."³

What then ensued is not known; but his death appears to have caused a panic, for neither his Alemannian countrymen nor his Bavarian followers remained to recover the body of the king's brother-in-law, of late supreme in command, and supreme in the general government of Bavaria. That service of love was rendered by a faithful Saxon, who took up the remains and carried them to far distant Reichenu for burial in the church of St. Mary.⁴

By a strange coincidence the death of Eric, margrave of Friuli, took place about the same time. He was perhaps the ablest of Frankish generals, and fell into an ambush which the Croat inhabitants of the town of Tharsatica (*Tersatto*) near Fiume on the Adriatic had set. He fought with desperate and heroic valor against his assailants, maintaining an unequal contest until his shield was broken, his lance dropped shivered from his grasp, and, pierced with

¹ Annal. Gueif., Alam. (Murb.).

² Annal. Lauriss., Alam. (Murb.) a. 798: "Wandali mentiti sunt."

³ Annal. Lauriss., Einh., Enh. Fuld., al.—Vita Caroli, c. 13.

⁴ See the epitaph and metrical tributes to his memory in Simson, *l. c.* II., 190 sq. Of these the following passage is from *Visio Wetini*, 18, in

Mabillon, A. S. o. S. Bened. IV. a. ed. Venet. p. 256: De Gerolto vero quodam comite dixit idem angelus, quos in requie esset glorie martyrum adaequatus. "Zelo enim," inquit, "Dei in defensione sanctae ecclesiae infidelium turbis congressus, temporalis vitae dispendia est passus: ideo aeternae vitae est particeps factus."

many arrows, he fell, expiring under a shower of stones. He was not only the hero of this war, but famed for brilliant victories, and personal worth.¹

It is remarkable that romance writers have neglected Eric. The poem named in the note recites his exploits, how he overcame the fierce barbarians within the confines of the Drave and the Danube, hiding in the flags of the Maeotic marshes (Sea of Azov), encompassed by the salt sea wave over against Dalmatia; it lauds his personal virtues, and extols him as a benefactor of churches, a friend and patron of the clergy, a father of the poor, a comforter and helper of the distressed and of widows. The poet invokes all the rivers of the region, and the cities (we omit a score of names) to mourn his loss; especially his native city, distant Strassburg; he curses the place where his hero fell, the coast of Liburnia and the Laurentian hill; no refreshing dew shall descend on it, nor fruitful rain; no purple blossom, no ear of corn grow thereon; no vine fling its arms round the elm; the fig-tree shall wither, the pomegranate fail, and the chestnut desert its prickly house. The ominous rumor of the melancholy tidings which preceded the positive announcement of his fate unmanned and convulsed the people; matrons and husbands, young men and maidens, masters and servants, every age of either sex, the clergy, yea, all broke out in mournful strains, and disconsolate smote their breast and plucked out their hair. The patriarch Paulinus, of Aquileia, the reputed author of this remarkable dirge, thus laments the loss of his friend, whom Alcuin also held in affectionate veneration.²

The Pannonian troubles continued for a number of years, but nothing is known of their character save that from time to time armies were despatched, or Avar deputations arrived, with assurances of loyalty and submission.

Three years after his coronation Charles undertook the final regulation of Avar affairs. Even that year a Frankish

¹ Annal. Lauriss., Einh., Alc. epp. Poet. Lat. aevi Carolin. I., 132; Alcuin. epist. 55, 56, 125 (ed. Jaffé).

² Versus Paulini de Herico duce in

army entered the country, and returned to Ratisbon with a new Tudun and an Avar legation. They were introduced to the Diet, where they solemnly surrendered their persons and all their country to imperial authority.¹ Order was taken for the adjustment of all matters in dispute, and these were so effectual that after the further lapse of two years the poor Avars were in the extremity of political dissolution. Their khakhan Theodore went to Aix-la-Chapelle for the purpose of submitting to the emperor the unsatisfactory condition of his country, and imploring his aid towards its alleviation and redress.

Exposed to the incessant and vexatious depredations of the Slavonians, they desired to quit their country and remove to a region where greater security might be had, craving the emperor's permission for settling on a tract of land between Sarwar and Haimburg (or as they were then called, between Sabaria and Carnuntum), two old Roman villages on the right bank of the Danube and within the Frankish dominions.² Such was the low estate of the once potent race of the Avars, and such the practical result of nearly a quarter of a century's warfare. How were the mighty fallen!

The piteous appeal of that broken-hearted Christian Avar chieftain, standing on the verge of the grave, told most eloquently and most pathetically what the Franks had done. "This war," writes Einhard, "was almost bloodless so far as the Franks were concerned;" but the mysterious work of the armies going into Pannonia, and returning in triumph throughout those long years, stands revealed in that dying man's story. The Avars were almost exterminated as a nation, and the poor remnant was obliged to retire before the pressure of the Slavonians, and seek under the protection of the Frankish flag security of life and property.

The descendants of the proud khakhans who dictated terms of peace, and exacted golden tribute from the Emperor of the East, came invoking the aid of the mighty Emperor

¹ Annal. Lauriss., Mett., Einh., Lo-
biens.

² Annal. Einh.

of the West, and craving his leave to occupy a strip of land not wider than the interspace of two of their ancient rings.

Charles heard, and heard graciously, granted all that Theodore had asked, rejoiced him with tokens of his favor in an imperial gift, and sent him home. Soon after his return Theodore died.¹ The new khakhan sent a legate to Charles, begging the emperor to permit his resuming the position and authority of old enjoyed by his predecessors. The request was reasonable enough, but only imported the empty honors of a degraded office which, under Frankish supremacy, could never be exalted to its former glory.

It is idle to speculate on the precise character of the dignities attached to the khakhanship, but the petitioner obtained what he sought. The emperor ordered that thenceforth the khakhan should be clothed, as of old, with supreme power.² The khakhan was pleased, and the Bavarian annals record the fact that he accepted Christian baptism and was christened Abraham.³ It is certain, moreover, but unrecorded, that the imperial permission was not prejudicial to the interests of the Frankish dominions, and for all practical purposes this is truly the end of the Avar wars and—of the Avar nation.

The conquest and conversion of the Avars, and the contact of the Franks with certain Slavonian tribes on the eastern and southern frontiers of Bavaria, suggest a retrospective view of the course of events in that country prior to the degradation of its last duke, the unfortunate Tassilo.

In no country east of the Rhine had Christianity struck deeper roots. Bavaria was the natural bulwark to western civilization from the fierce barbarism of Asiatic tribes, and her last duke was as valiant a champion in the field, as a zealous propagator of the Christian faith.

Synods, composed of secular and spiritual dignitaries, were

¹ Annal. Einh. Maxim.

³ Annal. Juv. Maj.; S. Emmer.

² Annal. Einh. Maxim., Enh. Rat. Maj.

Fuld.

held at an early date, one at Aschheim in 756, another at Dingolfing, about 769; several at Freising, and yet another at Neuching, unless it be accepted as identical with that of Dingolfing. The decrees of the last-named synod form part of the so-called "Laws of duke Tassilo," incorporated with the Bavarian Code.

The twelve Canons of the latter are of a miscellaneous character, dealing alike with civil and ecclesiastical affairs. They enjoin strict Sabbath observance, exhort bishops to live according to the Canons, and abbots according to the Rule, and make the marriage of nuns a canonical offence.

They likewise provide for the *weregeld* of certain laics, the tenure and conveyance of property, and accord to a noble lady ignorantly marrying a man not free the privilege of annulling the marriage; they also regulate judicial combat, etc., etc.¹

Connected with the Canons is the "League made by the bishops and abbots in Bavaria for deceased brethren."² It was a "Covenant of Death," or "Death League," much in vogue at the time, and reflecting the current belief as to the condition of the departed. In the event of a member of the League dying, his surviving brethren, being bishops or abbots, were bound to say for his benefit a hundred masses, or cause to be chanted a hundred psalms. Every bishop or abbot, moreover, was obliged to say himself, or cause one of his clergy to say, thirty additional masses for the same purpose. If the deceased was a presbyter or a monk, it was the duty of his bishop or abbot to cause a presbyter or a monk to say thirty masses, and chant the same number of psalms. The Bavarian Death League numbered nineteen members, six bishops and thirteen abbots; the bishops were the following: Manno (Neuburg), Alim (Seben), Virgilius (Salzburg), Wisurich (Passau), Sindpert (Ratisbon), Heres or Arbeo (Freising); and the abbots: Oportunus (Mondsee), Wolfpert (Niederaltaich), Adalpert (Tegernsee), Atto (Scharnitz-Schledorf), Uto (Illmünster), Landfrit (Benedictbeuern),

¹ Simson, *l. c.* I., 51 sqq.

² Leg. III., 461.

Alpuni (Sandau), Roadhart (Isana), Ernst (Oberaltaich), Reginpert (Mosburg), Wolchanhart (Osterhofen), Perahtcoz (Schliersee), and Sigidio (Weltenburg).¹

This Death League, it is thought, is the beginning of the interesting and historically important *Verbrüderungsbuch* of St. Peter's at Salzburg, that is, the book in which the names of all persons who joined the League were entered. The brothers, it seems, undertook to mention each other in their prayers while living, and to continue the pious remembrance after their decease. This obligation necessarily occasioned the practice of keeping accurate lists of all the members of the League, and as these rapidly multiplied, while the record was kept up for centuries, it is evident that this book is one of the most trustworthy authorities touching a great variety of topics and relations.²

The activity and zeal of Tassilo as a devout churchman appears from the part he took in the Translation of the Relics of St. Valentinus from Trent to Passau in 768, and of that of the Relics of St. Corbinianus from Mais in the Tyrol to the Church of St. Mary at Freising in 769.³

Tassilo does not seem to have come in collision with the Bohemians and Moravians in the northeast, but responding to an appeal of the Sclavonian Carantanians, the occupants of Carinthia, Styria, and part of the Tyrol, for help against the Avars, he not only repelled that enemy, but brought the Carantanians themselves to a state of dependence, and, mainly through the missionary zeal of the aforesaid bishop Virgilius of Salzburg, established Christianity among them.⁴

The rapid progress of Christianity received, however, a rude check after the death of duke Chotimir, a man of strong Christian sympathies, when the adherents of paganism again came into power and expelled the Christian mission-

¹ Simson, *l. c.* 55 sq. and notes.

² v. Karajan, *Verbrüderungsbuch von St. Peter in Salzburg*, Introduction I., sqq.—Herzberg-Fränkell, *Neues Archiv d. Geschichte für ältere deutsche Geschichtskunde*, XII., 53 sqq.

³ Meichelbeck, *l. c.* I. a 71, 73; I. b 18.

⁴ De Conversione Bagoar. et Carant. libellus, MG. SS. XI., 7 sq.

aries. For several years no priest labored among the Carantanians, but, thanks to the energy of Tassilo, Carinthia was reconquered, incorporated with Bavaria, and revisited by Christian missionaries. As early as 769 Tassilo donated to the abbot Atto of Scharnitz the place called India (Innichen), in the Puster valley on the Sclavonian frontier, for the express purpose of establishing there a monastery as the centre from which the infidel race of the Sclavonians might be led into the way of the truth.¹

The conversion of the Carantanians was chiefly carried on from Salzburg, and the mantle of Virgilius, who died in 784, fell on the shoulders of Arno, a remarkable man, already familiar to us, of whom more remains to be said in subsequent paragraphs.²

About 777 Tassilo founded the monastery of Kremsmünster. According to an ecclesiastical legend the immediate occasion of that pious foundation was the accidental death of his son Gunthar on a boar hunt in the forest near the confluence of the Enns and the Danube. Gunthar having mortally wounded a she-boar, was assailed and fatally hurt by the infuriated animal. He fell and died on the spot; his dog discovered him, and a stag with luminous antlers indicated the place of his burial. Tassilo, says the legend, caused a wooden church to be erected over him, and that humble temple was the beginning of the monastery of Kremsmünster.³

The legend belongs to the fourteenth century, and sheds no light on the true history of the monastery. The original charter explicitly states that, impelled by the earnest desire of shunning the horrid abode of Satan, and of entering the blissful mansions of Christ, he had concluded to consecrate to the service of God a portion of those riches with which God had blessed him. As his ancestors of good memory had to the best of their ability consecrated their substance to God, built and endowed churches, founded monasteries and richly provided for them, so he had de-

¹ Meichelbeck, *l. c.* I. b 38, no. 22. ³ MG. SS. XXV., 641.

² See Index.

terminated to build a monastery to the glory of Christ near the river Chremsa, etc.¹

When the building was completed, he appointed Fater of Niederaltaich, a monastic institution founded by his father Odilo, abbot of the new monastery, and set him over a number of monks from the same establishment. He then made most generous provision for the support of the institution in land, and a dependent population, and doubtless planted it for the laudable purpose of making it the centre of missionary effort and Christian civilization. Much of the land he donated was uncultivated; but portions of the territory were well improved, and embraced meadows, fields, vineyards, woods, together with such industrious establishments as salt mines, fisheries, etc., and a population skilled in their operation. Many of these settlers were Slavonians who had embraced Christianity and, from being tributary to the duke, became thenceforth attached to the monastery.

The instrument of the donation was made at Kremsmünster, in the presence of the most prominent secular and spiritual dignitaries, and conjointly in the name of Tassilo and of his son Theodo.²

It has been stated that several bishops accompanied Charles in the first Avar expedition in 791. Among them was Arno, bishop of Salzburg; he was, in the unsubstantiated opinion of some, either a Saxon or an Anglo-Saxon, while others with a greater show of probability believe him to have been a Bavarian; if they are right, the Bavarian Church may justly point to him as one of at least three distinguished men whose zealous labors are of constant mention in the annals of that time; they were the abbot Sturm of Fulda, archbishop Leidrad, or Leidradus of Lyons, and Arno.³

The name of a deacon Arno occurs after 765 in the records of Freising, of a presbyter Arno after 776; and the same name appears in 777 in the Kremsmünster instrument

¹ Hagn, *Urkundenbuch für Kremsmünster*, p. 1. cf. Mühlbacher, *l. c.* no. 302; Histor. Cremifan. MG. SS. XXV., 629.

² *Urkundenbuch*, p. 2.

³ Simson, *l. c.* I., 512, notes and references.

of donation, and in 791 in the ratification of the same document; they all seem to designate the same person. It is established that Arno did not continuously exercise his ministry in Bavaria; he appears to have been engaged in the monastery of St. Amand in the Hennegau about 778, and upon the death of its abbot in 782 to have been chosen abbot of that establishment. In 785 he was made bishop of Salzburg, without however sundering his connection with St. Amand. His friendship with Alcuin seems to date from his residence at the monastery, and it is thought that his advancement to the episcopate was mainly due to the influence of the same potent friend. He appears to have possessed the necessary requirements for that difficult and important position to an eminent degree, and been as acceptable to Charles as to Tassilo. We have seen that he was more devoted to the former than to the latter, and it remains to add in this connection, that he rose in favor with Charles, was employed by him on important public business, and through his influence advanced to the position of metropolitan of Bavaria. This last step was doubtless a political necessity, and the most potent means of incorporating Bavaria with the Frankish empire. To Arno also was committed the general supervision and direction of the work of evangelizing and Christianizing the pagan inhabitants of the vast territory which the victorious king acquired to the eastward of Bavaria.

Arno was a man of executive ability and considerable tact. His ready resource appears from the following incident: On his return from an important embassy to Rome, in 798, Arno, after crossing the river Po, met a royal messenger, the bearer of a letter to him from Charles instructing him to proceed in the capacity of a missionary to the country of the Southern Slavonians. Instead of complying with the king's request, he reasoned that duty, and probably the importance of the verbal communications he had to present, required him to repair to Charles in person. He accordingly continued his journey, conferred with his royal master, and then, without any record of his seeming disobe-

dience exposing him to censure, proceeded to the Sclavonian territory, engaged in teaching the people, ordaining priests, building churches and consecrating them. On his return Arno submitted a very encouraging report of his visitation to Charles, who approved of his recommendation designating a certain Deoderich as bishop for that important and promising field. Arno consecrated him, and accompanied by count Gerold, introduced the new bishop to the notables of the new diocese, which seems to have embraced Carinthia together with the country north of the Drave to its confluence with the Danube.¹

¹ Convers. Bagoarior. et Carant., *l. c.* XI., 9, 10; cf. Simson, *l. c.* for additional references.

CHAPTER VIII.

CONSPIRACIES.—QUEENS AND DAUGHTERS OF CHARLES.

Fastrada.—“Conspiracy of Thuringian Counts and Nobles.”—“Conspiracy of Pepin the Hunchback.”—Peter of Verdun.—Death of Fastrada.—Liutgard.—The daughters.—Family life.—The Chase.—Diversions.

(QUEEN HILDEGARD died April 30, 783,) about six months after the Saxon campaign which terminated in the massacre of Verden. It is said that those cruel eyes which looked unmoved on that horror moistened in sorrow as they gazed upon the lifeless remains of the beautiful queen. Charles caused her to be entombed with regal splendor in the church of St. Arnulf at Metz, and provided for the burning of candles on the anniversary of her death, and daily mass for all time to come, for the salvation of her soul, from the revenue of the seignorial estate of Cheminot which he set apart and donated to the said church for that exclusive purpose; he also commanded the erection of a magnificent monument sumptuously ornamented with golden figures, and bade the deacon Paulus write an epitaph, which remains of record.

Hildegard bore the reputation of sincere piety and benevolence. The monasteries of Reichenau and Kempten, the church of St. Denis, the abbey of St. Martin at Tours, and other establishments, were enriched by her benefactions; the poor and the sick blessed with her kind ministrations. She shone as a wife and a mother, and her untimely death in the twenty-sixth year of her life caused universal sorrow. She died immediately after the birth of a daughter, who received her name, but survived her only forty days.

The epitaph of Paulus Diaconus is unique in its way. He extols her attractions and virtues, lauds her as the most illustrious of her race, as superior to the rest as is a gem of

the Indies to common clay; he describes her as the fairest of her sex throughout the western world, alleging that the splendor of her charms eclipsed the flash of precious stones, and that her outward beauty, though that of the lily and the rose, was cast in the shade by the yet greater beauty of her heart and mind, by humility, simplicity, wisdom, skill, cheerfulness, and the rich garniture of all good things. But her highest meed of praise, he says, which included everything beside, was that so great a man as Charles chose her his wife.¹ The days of his mourning for his "most sweet consort," who for twelve years past had shared his throne, began on the date aforesaid.²

Shortly afterwards³ he went into still deeper mourning, occasioned by the death of his mother, Queen Berthrada. She died at Choisy au Bac, where her remains were temporarily interred, and afterwards by his command removed with great pomp to their final resting-place by the side of her husband, King Pepin, in the basilica of St. Denis.⁴

(After her funeral and the close of the summer campaign Charles went out of mourning, and married Fastrada, a daughter of Count Radolf. She was very handsome, and in some respects a remarkable woman. Her very name in-

¹ Hic regina iacet regi praeclsa potenti

Hildegard Karolo quae bene nupta fuit.

Quae tantum clarae transcendit stirpis alumnos

Quantum, quo genita est, Indica gemma solum.

Huic tam clara fuit florentis gratia formae,

Qua nec in occiduo pulchrior ulla foret.

Cuius haut tenerum possint aequare decorem

Sardonix Pario, lilia mixta rosis.

Attamen hanc speciem superabant lumina cordis

Simplicitasque animae interiorque decor.

Tu mitis, sapiens, solers, iocunda fuisti,

Dapsilis et cunctis condecorata bonis.

Sed quid plura feram? cum non sit grandior ulla

Laus tibi, quam tanto complacuisse viro!

Epitaph.—MG. Poet. Lat. aev. Carol. I., 58, v. 3-16; cf. *ibid.*, p. 631; II., 688.

² Ann. Einh., Lauriss., al.—Bouquet, V., 749; MG. SS. II., 266.

³ 10th or 13th of July.

⁴ Annal. Lauriss., Einh., al. Mett., S. Amandi.—Vita Caroli, c. 18.

icates part of her character; it denotes¹ "firm counsel;" and the epithet "firm" may stand not only for decision, but for imperious obstinacy and inflexible sternness. These nouns and adjectives rather understate than exaggerate, and it must be admitted, on the evidence furnished by contemporary writers, that a woman whose strength of will and influence was able to mould the purpose of Charles into subjection to her own, was a prodigy.² Even his biographer commits himself to the statement that certain deviations from "the usual kindness and gentleness of his disposition" were due to his "apparent acquiescence" in her conduct. She bore the unenviable reputation of being cold, selfish, and cruel, and was named as the cause of two conspiracies having for their object the assassination of the king; the exact nature of her cruelty, though not indicated in express terms, may be divined.

The first of these conspiracies is known as "the Con-
786] spiracy of Thuringian Counts and Nobles."³ It was promoted by a certain count Hardrad, and those engaged in the plot proposed to possess themselves of the person of Charles and put him to death, or, in the event of their inability to compass it, raise the standard of revolt. It was wide-spread, and those implicated in it were men of great influence; the ominous secret was betrayed, and it required great tact for arresting the offenders and bringing them to judgment. It is distinctly asserted that the conspiracy was engendered by the cruelty of Fastrada; to her craft may be assigned the method by which the conspirators were reached, and to her influence the punishment which overtook them.

It seems that the daughter of one of the Thuringian conspirators was affianced to an Austrasian noble; under Frankish law it was his duty to send her to her plighted husband, but for reasons not stated he refused to fulfil the obligation; the Austrasian complained to the king, and a royal command was sent to the Thuringian requiring him to comply with the terms of the law. Again he refused, when

¹ Fastrath.

² "Gallias Caesar subegit, Nicomedes Caesarem."

a number of his relatives, as well as almost all the Thuringians, took up his cause and resisted the royal authority. Forthwith an Austrasian force entered Thuringia and laid it waste. The conspirators fled and took sanctuary in the monastery of Fulda; the abbot, at their request, but seemingly in response to his advice, interceded with Charles and obtained certain promises in virtue of which the Thuringians were sent to Worms and taken to the royal presence. A conversation took place, in which the king asked them if it were true that they had plotted together to resist his authority and attempt his life.

They did not pretend to deny the accusation, and one of them, more fearless than the rest, boldly spoke out, saying: "If my colleagues and associates had done as I desired, you would never have crossed the Rhine alive."

Charles was amazed, but being, as an annalist states, "the most gentle and wisest of kings that ever ruled the Franks, took the matter with great forbearance," and demonstrated those amiable qualities in the following manner: The men were ordered to be put under arrest; "three of them only lost their lives; they drew their swords and resisted arrest, and after killing several men, were cut down, because they could not be otherwise overpowered."¹ But those who yielded were sent, under military convoy and accompanied by royal *missi*, some to the tomb of St. Peter at Rome, others to sacred localities in Neustria and Austrasia, and made to swear over the relics that thenceforth they would maintain fidelity to the king and his sons. This seemed a most merciful and, one might say, religious mode of punishment; but it had a very secular and horrible sequel; some had their eyes put out and were thrust into dungeons on the way; others (Einhard says, all) were taken back to Worms, and banished without mutilation, and still others, perhaps those mentioned before, were put to death, and yet others had their eyes put out; one authority, indeed, asserts that that punishment was meted out to all the rebels, while those

¹ Vita Caroli, c. 20.

who were innocent—for innocent persons had also been arrested—regained their liberty.

All their possessions, personal and real, were confiscated to the crown, and the royal pair, after this effectual and energetic punishment of the offenders, left the city of Worms unhurt, and, as one of the pious annalists exclaims, "the best of the kings, ruling the Franks, the Lombards, and the Romans, remained uninjured and safe, because the King of Heaven extended to him His peculiar protection."¹

About the same time an insurrection broke out in Brittany, in the northwestern extremity of Gaul, inhabited by a purely Celtic population. The story ran that once upon a time in the remote past a band of Britons came across the sea and, after possessing themselves of the territory of the Veneti and Coriosolitæ, effected a permanent settlement in that part of the country. They were in turn subdued by the Franks and made tributary to them; but chafing under the yoke of dependence, strove to shake it off. The revolt was not that of a privileged class, as in Thuringia, but of the entire population. They not only refused to pay tribute, but resisted Frankish supremacy by force of arms.

Charles despatched an army commanded by Seneschal Audulf to the seat of revolt. The Franks had [April, 786 to fight their way step by step, through the intrenchments and fortifications which the rebels had planted between the marches, attack and carry them one by one. Then the leaders of the revolt fell into the hands of the victorious Audulf, who at the close of the campaign in August could boast of having quelled the revolt and re-established Frankish authority.

He took hostages and compelled moreover a number of Breton chieftains, called in their own tongue Mactrians, but *Capitanei* by the Franks, to swell his train on his return to the Rhine. They were hereditary lords, privileged in their several districts to levy taxes, hold court, and discharge other executive functions. He took them to Worms, and

¹ Annal. Nazar. Lauriss., Einh., S. Amandi, a. 785.—Vita Caroli, c. 20.

set them before Charles in the Diet there assembled. They appear to have made their submission with good grace, for they were permitted to retain their ancient prerogatives both in his reign and that of his successors.¹

[792] A few years later occurred the "Conspiracy of Pepin the Hunchback," for which Fastrada is also believed to be responsible. Again it does not appear what she did, but opinion is general that her hardness made life a burden to all persons who fell under her influence; still it is only just to add that if all that was said of her is true, she played her cards uncommonly well, so well indeed that her royal spouse was not aware of the extent to which she swayed his will. The year before he wrote a letter informing her of the progress of affairs in connection with the great expedition against the Avars, in which he expresses disappointment at her failure to send him a messenger or an epistle, and the earnest desire for frequent news as to the state of her health, and any other matters which she might deem it her duty to communicate; the tone is cordial and the contents show that she had his confidence and affection.² But to return to the conspiracy. Pepin, the first born of Charles, the son of his first wife, Himiltrud, was handsome of countenance, but diminutive in size, and otherwise deformed, for he was burdened with a hunchback. By this time he must have been upwards of twenty, and probably twenty-two or twenty-three years of age. His step-brothers were considerably his juniors, and his position as the king's eldest son was so well established and recognized that his name stood in the Litany in the following order: Charles the king, Pepin and Charles his sons, Pepin, King of the Lombards, Louis, King of Aquitaine, Fastrada, the queen, etc., etc.,³ but in spite of it there

¹ Annal. Einh., Lauriss. major., Lauresh.—Vita Caroli, c. 10.—Simson, *l. c.* I., 526 sqq.; De Courson, *Cartulaire de l'Abbaye de Redon en Bretagne*, Proleg. cclxix.; Göttinger *G. A.* 1864, 1771 sqq.

² Ep. Carol. no. 6, ed. Jaffé. See note 2, page 224.

³ Mabillon, *Vet. Analect.* nov. ed. p. 171, cf. the *Verbrüderungsbuch* von St. Peter, Salzburg ed. Karajan, p. 7 (col. 35), where the names stand thus: Carolus rex, Fastrada, Pippinus, Charlus, Ludviah, Pippinus.

were those who not only derided his person, but cast a slur on his birth; and if his deformity was not the cause of the slight which had been put upon him in the provision made for the three sons of Hildegard, for Charles also had received three or four years before the duchy of Maine,¹ his feelings arising from the other point must have been painful. It was moreover his peculiar misfortune of having three step-mothers in succession, and the last and living one, although she had no sons, doubtless increased his misery. This seems not calumny, for it is stated that while the king was passing the summer months at Ratisbon, a plot was made against him by Pepin, his eldest son, and certain Frankish noblemen, who, alleging that they were unable to endure the cruelty of Queen Fastrada any longer, conspired together to take the king's life.²

It needs no stretch of the imagination, therefore, to conjecture that the army of malcontents throughout the Frankish dominions with real or fancied grievances against the king and the queen, would naturally turn to the sorely tried Pepin and contribute their share in keeping alive the flame of his discontent; nor is it at all improbable that the scattered members of the dethroned royal and ducal families, male and female, sought opportunity of pouring the story of their wrongs into his willing ears; in fact it is distinctly asserted that others were the instigators of the conspiracy.³ The names of the conspirators are not known; Count Theudald, who was implicated in the plot, cleared himself of the charge, and the ever-suspected bishop of Verdun also established his innocence to the satisfaction of the king and a whole church council.⁴

The details of the plot are said to have embraced the assassination of the king and his three royal sons, and the subsequent proclamation of Pepin as king. This was the

¹ Annal. S. Amandi, brev. et brevis. a. 780; Mett. a. 790. Theod. Carm. 35, v. 11 in Poet. Lat. aevi Carol. I., 527.

² Annal. Einh. a. 793.

³ Vita Hlud. 6; Annal. Lauresh., Petav., Enh. Fuld.

⁴ Böhmer-Mühlbacher, No. 327.—Synod. Francof. 794, c. 9. I., I. *Gesta epp. Vird.* 14 MG. SS. IV., 44.

bait which the conspirators held out to him; "they seduced him," as Einhard puts it, "with vain promises of the royal authority;"¹ the plot seemed to one of the monkish writers a repetition of the crime of Abimelech, the son of Gideon by a concubine, in the days of the Judges, who killed on one stone both his father and his seventy brothers, and then usurped the throne.²

The secret was well kept. Pepin shammed sickness, and for a while stayed away from court; the plot was fairly under way and dangerously near a successful termination, when by the inexplicable carelessness of the conspirators the whole of their impious scheme became known.

They met in the church of St. Peter at Ratisbon and discussed all the details of the plot in the hearing of a cleric, who from some cause or other had found his way into the church. Perhaps he came to sleep there; the conspirators found him hiding under the altar, and, strange to tell, contented themselves with his solemn promise on oath that he would not divulge the ominous secret. But the oath sat lightly on his conscience, and the moment after the conspirators had left he ran half-dressed at dead of night to the royal palace and gave the alarm.

No one could stay his progress on his way to the royal bedchamber; he passed through seven doors and at last stood before it, and so frightened the ladies in attendance upon the queen that they shut it in his face; they tried to stifle their laughter at his appearance with their dresses. But the king had heard the noise and asked what it meant. They said that a half-clad, scraped, silly, and raving scamp demanded to see the king, and made an unmannerly noise. Charles sent for him, and made him tell all he knew. "Before the third hour of the day," writes the Monk, "all the chief conspirators, not expecting anything of the kind, were either on the way to exile or punishment. The dwarfish, hunchbacked Pepin received a good beating, was shaved,

¹ Vita Car. c. 20. See Böhmer-Mühlbacher, and Abel-Simson for the authorities, which are numerous.

² Ann. Lauresh. a. 792.—Jud. c. 8.

and sent for *a little while* to the monastery of St. Gall to do penance."¹

The writer must be ironical for the words in italics import incarceration for life.

The judgment, though summary, was not quite as rapid and informal as he intimates. Charles immediately convened an Assembly of Franks and other of his lieges for action in the matter. The conspirators were accused and convicted of high treason, and condemned to undergo the punishment of death together with the loss of all their possessions. Such was the judgment passed upon the prime movers and leaders, but in the case of others it was more lenient. Some were put to death, but not all in the same manner; we read of the sword and the gallows, and of the commutation of the capital sentence into blinding, whipping and exile. Some appealed successfully to the judgment of God, established their innocence and recovered their property. In the case of Pepin, the Court respected the king's recommendation of mercy, and commuted the sentence of death into compulsory orders. He himself is said to have recognized the kindness of the direction and desired it. The prince was shaved and went for life to the monastery of Prüm,² where he died twenty years later.³

He was doubtless a sincere penitent, but the Monk of St. Gall's anecdote about him, which is as authentic as many other of his stories, makes him likewise a wag.

The king, according to him, having heard of others implicated in the conspiracy, sent messengers to question Pepin as to the degree of their guilt, and take his opinion of the punishment they ought to have. They found him in the convent-garden hoeing. "Tell Charles," he said, "what you see me do: I pluck out the weeds that the good plants may thrive." The Monk then makes Charles cut off their heads, and give their possessions to loyal men of meaner birth.⁴

¹ Monach. Sangall. l. II., c. 18.

² In the diocese of Treves.

³ Annal. Lauriss., Einh., Lauresh., Laur. min., Fuld., Mosell.—Vita Caroli, c. 20.

Poeta Saxo.

⁴ The Monk's story recalls Livy, I., 54, and that too is an adaptation of the reply of Thrasybulos to Periander, in Herodotus.

The conspiracy was doubtless extensive; the inquisition searching and minute, and the punishment most severe; but the king's gratitude for his merciful deliverance was also very great: those of his faithful vassals, bishops, abbots, counts, and others, who came out of the scrutiny with clean escutcheons, were made the recipients of rich gifts in gold, silver, silk and the like. Fardulf, the Lombard deacon, who discovered the conspiracy, was royally rewarded not only with numerous presents, but with the presentation of the rich emoluments of the abbacy of St. Denis.¹

He was in great favor with Charles. A Lombard, and a devoted partisan of Desiderius, he was obliged at the time of his fall to go into exile, but whether to St. Denis, as some think, we cannot tell. Nor is it known what took him to Ratisbon, but his presence in the church of St. Peter at the time when the conspirators were in session was doubtless the turning point in his life. The king honored him with his confidence and employed him on important public business; he acted as *missus*, and went on an embassy to Rome. On the other hand, Fardulf showed his gratitude by erecting at his own cost, it is thought close to the monastery of St. Denis, a palace for the special delectation of Charles and his suite. This is distinctly stated in the metrical inscription, composed by himself, still extant. He also built a church dedicated to St. John Baptist, in fulfilment of an early vow made at the time he went into exile, as appears from another poetical inscription, the product of his muse.

Fardulf was a many-sided man, and among other attributes possessed the gift of poetry; he was on intimate terms with Theodulf, who calls him his sweet friend.²

One of the suspected persons, the bishop Peter of Verdun,³ figures in the Council of Frankfort as promoter

¹ Annal. Einh., 792, Lauresh. 793, MG. Poet. Lat. aevi Carol. I., 353.

² His poetic remains are found in MG. Poet. Latin. aevi Carolini, I., 353 sq. He died in 806. An epi-

taph of him is contained in Hibernici exilis carm. 13; cf. MG. I. c. 633.

³ He is the same who labors under the imputation of having betrayed the city of Trevisa, and—as stated by oth-

of a spectacle which forcibly illustrates the spirit of the age.

In the absence of evidence establishing his guilt, he avouched his innocence, whereupon it was ordered by the king and the council that he should swear before God and, conjointly with two or three other bishops, or with his metropolitan, that he was in no wise concerned in the said conspiracy, or had been disloyal to the king. Peter could not find among his brethren any willing to swear with him. Nothing daunted, the bishop, of his own free will, chose his man to go to the judgment of God in attestation of his innocence. In other words, his man undertook to fight a duel with another, while the bishop declared on oath, neither on the gospel nor on the relics, but before God only, that, as he was innocent, so God would establish his innocence, and agreeably thereto aid his man in the combat. It is not said that he killed his adversary, but the fact that he returned safe and sound was construed as proof of the innocence of Peter; he was declared innocent, received to the royal favor, restored to all the honors of his station, and fully justified, suffered to depart.

This trial by combat, which used to be common in cases of doubt, gradually fell into disuse, and the Canon which officially records the expurgation and restoration of Peter distinctly states that the ordeal was commanded neither by the king nor the council, but the bishop's deliberate and spontaneous act.¹

Queen Fastrada died during the session of that council. Shortly before her decease she is mentioned as present at the death of a certain Hostlaicus, most probably by acci-

ers—the city of Pavia to Charles. The Gest. epp. Virdun. 14 MG. SS. IV., 44, say that he had been twelve years in disgrace when the Council met; if this is correct the reference may be to something else. Barre, *Hist. Génér. d'Allem.* t. i., p. 425, is too rash in his assertion that Peter did betray the city of Trevisa, that the bishopric of

Verdun was the reward of his treachery, and misprision of an attempt on the life of his benefactor, the expression of his gratitude. He was suspected, but none of the crimes were proven against him.

¹ Synod. Franconofurt. 794. Labbei Concil. ix. (I., 1), p. 103.

dent, although the circumstance is often adduced in illustration of her cruelty.¹

(Her death was regarded by the people as a providential bereavement. She was undoubtedly the best-hated woman of her time, and apparently beloved only by Charles.² Some, perhaps not without cause, see in her a convenient scapegoat.

Charles ordered a magnificent funeral in St. Alban's, Mayence. Her remains were interred in the crypt of the north aisle in front of the altar of the apostles. A sumptuous marble monument was set up near the arch of the same aisle; a parcel of land was given to St. Alban's, the revenue to be applied to the service of a daily mass for the salvation of her soul. Theodulf, bishop of Orleans, the most gifted poet of the age, was requested to compose an epitaph, and wrote one of only six lines, of great elegance, singular felicity, and surprising tact, considering the character and reputation of the queen. It ran as follows:

"Here lie the glorious remains of Queen Fastrada, whom cold death snatched away in the bloom of life. Noble by birth, she was united in marriage to her mighty husband, and nobler still, she is now united to the King of Heaven. The better part of her soul, King Charles himself, she left behind, to whom a merciful God may grant long life."³

The mural tablet with this inscription remained in the church until the monastery was destroyed by fire, when some one less kindly disposed replaced it by another in the cathedral, to which possibly her remains also were removed after 1553, of this tenor:

"Fastradana called the pious consort of Charles, and by

¹ Rozière, *Formules*, I., 64, no. 41.

² About this time, I mean during the last few years of her life, she was in delicate health (Ep. Car. 6, Jaffé). Among other ailments she was a martyr to toothache, and went to St. Goar where the saint cured her. In recognition of the deliverance Charles presented his cell with the Villa of Na-

sonia. *Miracula S. Goar*. 16 apud Mabillon A. S. o. s. Ben. ed. Venet. II., 279.

³ Theod. Carm.—Migne, V., 514. Compare the last clause of this epitaph with that composed by Paulus Diaconus for Hildegard, presented before. Theodulf seems to echo his sentiment, and was his peer in the art of flattery.

Christ beloved, lies underneath this marble roof. She died in the year seven hundred and ninety-four, a number which the muse in vain tries to adapt to the metre. O pious King, whom the Virgin bore, grant that here she may repose, and that her spirit be heir of the fatherland, which refuses to bewail her departure."¹

The words after the date have now been expunged, but the remainder may still be read in the cathedral.

Everybody seems to have had his fling at the unfortunate queen, and even the Saxon poet is nastily malicious in comparing her influence over Charles to the incessant throb of an angry carbuncle.² She was the mother of Theodrada and Hiltrud, with whom we shall become better acquainted in a subsequent paragraph.

(Charles was averse to prolonged widowhood, and soon³ led to the altar the beautiful Liutgard, a noble, or most noble lady of Alemannian descent. She must have been very fascinating and winsome, for she stole the hearts of all who knew her, and was unquestionably the most popular and best loved of the wives of Charles. If the contemporary records uniformly paint Fastrada in colors of darkest hue, they as uniformly, and with singular cordiality, shed the richest and most glowing light on the picture of Liutgard. Her radiant presence at the royal hearth was only brief, for she died childless and universally regretted, June 4, 800, in the city of Tours, blessed with the ministrations of the saintly Alcuin, and was buried in the venerable sanctuary of St. Martin.⁴ § 228

¹ Le Cointe, *Annal. Eccles. Franc.*, IV., 527.

² Poeta Saxo., l. III. s. a. 792.

³ I reject, as unfounded, certainly as unproven, first the insinuation that she had for years before her marriage stood in near relations to the king; secondly, that the marriage did not take place until between 796 and 799. The second point is clearly the consequence of the first. The solitary expression, in a poem: "Leutgardis

pulchra virago" is not decisive; Theodulf may have meant by *virago* a married woman, and Angilbert about the same time extols her as *pulcherri-ma conjux*. Einhard, *Vita Caroli*. c. 18, says: Defuncta Fastrada, Liutgardam Alemannam duxit; this I take to signify that soon after the death of F. the king married Liutgard. But see the controversy sketched in Abel-Simson, *l. c.*, II., p. 214 sq.

⁴ *Annal. Lauriss.*, Einh., al.

What she was, in appearance, character, and conversation, is fully disclosed in the notices here presented; the first was written by the bishop of Orleans during her life. "The beautiful lady Leutgarda displays the riches of her piety in the shining frame of a cultured mind. The nobility and the people everywhere, confess that the brilliant beauty of her accomplishments is eclipsed by the more dazzling beauty of her virtues. Prodigious in her charities, benignant in disposition, and most sweet of speech, her life is a blessing to all, an injury to none.¹ An ardent and successful student she stores in a retentive memory the harvest of her toil."²

Thus he wrote of her; the lines which follow he wrote to her:

"O potent queen, the glory of the great king and of the people, the light and blooming ornament of the Church. May the Father, throned on high, grant long life to you, and thus bless the people, and the Church of God. You are the light and splendor, the dazzling ornament of all the realm, gracing your beauty with the riches of a godly life. Companion of the pious king, you are his well-merited reward, a precious help-mate causing his name to be lauded to the sky. Your outward beauty yields the palm to that within, but I do not venture to say which is first. For beautiful is the burden of your speech; more beautiful your acts, but you yourself are conqueror of both. May God, who gave you the will to do so much good, grant you power to bring it to good effect, and bless you world without end."³

Similar is the testimony of Alcuin. Writing of her to others he calls her "his daughter, religious, and devoted to God;" "having an earnest desire to benefit the servants of God and the Church;" and addressing her, exclaims: "Verily, most noble lady, you ever set the example of pure morality to the people, and of most holy conversation before God, causing the tongue of all to rehearse your praise, and their hearts turn to you in love."⁴

¹ This seems to reflect on her predecessor.

² Theod. Carm. III., i, ed. Sismond.

³ Idem, ed. Dümmeler, XXXI., 522

⁴ Alc. Epp. 53, 131, 89 (Jaffé).

One of the epistles of Alcuin is believed to be a letter of condolence to Charles on the death of this queen. It should be remembered that Alcuin was at Tours at the time of its occurrence, and we may regard the document either as a letter of condolence, or a funeral address, possibly adapted to the occasion. He says:

"I cannot lament the felicity of one who has finished the thorny path of earth and winged her way to Him who made her. For agreeably to the appointment of our first condemnation this is the condition of our frailty: we are born to die, and we die to live. Is it not better to enter upon life than upon death?

"It is said that one whom others sought to comfort concerning the death of his son, replied, 'I knew that I was born mortal.' Why should we bewail that which we cannot avoid? Time often soothes our sorrow better than reason.

"Let the gifts of our love follow our loved ones. Let us offer the gift of our salvation for them. Let us be merciful that we may obtain mercy. Whatever we do in faith for them, will profit ourselves.

"O Lord God Jesus, gentle and merciful, have mercy upon her whom thou hast taken away from us. Hear us through the Medicine for our wounds [Jesus Christ], who hung upon the Cross, and sitting at thy right hand, now intercedes for us. For I know thy mercy, who desirest that all men should be saved. Remit unto her such sins as she may have contracted after the water of salvation [*i. e.*, after baptism]. Remit them, O Lord, we pray, remit them. Enter not into judgment with her. Let mercy exalt itself above judgment. For all thy words are true, even the mercy thou didst promise unto the merciful; that such as they were, so wilt thou give unto them. Thou who art merciful unto the merciful, O Lord, have mercy upon thy creature; that thy creature may laud and evermore extol thy mercy; and the soul that triumphs eternally, will say world with-

¹ Allusion to the saying of the philosopher Anaxagoras on the death of his son.

out end; 'In my life I will praise the Lord; I will sing to my God as long as I shall be.'¹

"Oh, may for evermore in happiness abide this daughter mine so dear, I earnestly desire, and unto God be dear, I pray."²

(She was the last of the legitimate queens of Charles; the other ladies, her successors, were united to him by morganatic ties.³)

Charles had four sisters,⁴ but only one of them, Gisla, is mentioned in history. She was a most estimable lady, greatly beloved by him and his children; on terms of friendship with Alcuin, and often exchanged the retirement of her convent at Chelles for the amenities of the social circle at court, especially in the early days of the Palace School, in which she bore the pseudonym of Lucia.

[796-799] About this time Charles had six daughters living, the children of three mothers. Rothaid was the daughter of Himiltrud; Rotrud, Bertha, and Gisla were children of Hildegard; and lastly, Theodrada and Hiltrud, the daughters of Fastrada. The eldest was about thirty, but the youngest were mere children. All were singularly favored, and famed for their beauty.)

The bishop of Orleans has drawn a fascinating picture of the royal family on the occasion of a birthday, or other festal gathering. He represents the affectionate father in the midst of his olive branches, each the bearer of some token of love. Omitting the description of the sons, we catch a glimpse of the royal maidens presenting their sweet offerings. Bertha brought roses, Rotrud violets, and Gisla lilies. Rothaid carried the treasures of Pomona, Hiltrud

¹ The citations are from the Vulgate, Haydock's version, 1848.

² Alcuin. epist. 138 (Jaffé).

³ See Genealogical Table.—The uxoriousness of Charles occasioned injurious comment. His reputation was bad, so bad that the "Vision of Wetin" representing him as enduring singular punishment in most un-

comfortable regions, was not only commended by a bishop as good reading, but believed by him to be true. He also thought that the punishment was well deserved. Walafrid made a metrical version of the Vision.—See, Hincmar. Op. II., 808.)

⁴ See Genealogical Table.

those of Ceres, while Theodrada bore the produce of Bacchus. Their beauty was enhanced by the richness of their toilet, precious ornaments, and the variety of their graces, in which the charms of voice and bearing vied with the fascination of their mirth and wit.⁵

The bishop's description, though interesting and instructive, is inferior to that of Angilbert, whose long experience at court, evident familiarity with all the mysterious intricacies of feminine toilet, and intimate knowledge of the ladies, adds not a little to the vivacity of his account. He sketches them as they rode up to the gathering on the occasion of a royal hunt. Rotrud came first; she was a pronounced blonde, and wore a purple fillet resplendent with the glitter of many gems in her wealth of light yellow hair, which from under a jewelled crown of shining gold fell upon a splendid robe held together with clasps.

Bertha, he says, shines amid a choir of maidens and a throng of attendant ladies. "The tones of her voice, her virile mind, the splendor of her countenance and carriage, the flash of her eyes, the shape of her mouth, and her manner image forth her royal sire." She also wears a golden diadem, and golden filaments sparkle in her shining hair; her snow-white shoulders nestle in a cape of ermine; pearls and gems adorn her robe; the light of many colors flashes from her belt, and the fiery chrysolite from the emerald glory of every part of her attire.

The similar description of the toilet of the other royal maidens we omit, but the poet tells us that the voice, the face, and the hair of Gisla coruscate in radiant light.⁶ This seems unintelligible, unless the "voice" import the rows of pearly teeth, which might exceed the undefined limits of poetic license in ordinary writers, but hardly in Angilbert, who dwells upon the "silver hands" and the "golden forehead" of the young lady, the light of whose eyes dims the splendor of the sun. Rothaid, the beautiful maid of more than thirty summers, is praised for the metallic and jewelled

⁵ Theodulf, *Carmina*, ed. Dümmler, l. c. I., 2, p. 485 sq. Anno 796.

⁶ "Vox, facies, crines radianti luce coruscant."

splendor of her attire, and of the more juvenile daughters of Fastrada, we learn that Theodrada, hardly less splendid and coruscating than Gisle, rode forth to the hunt in "Sophoclean buskins;"¹ probably all the ladies wore such buskins, but they were not visible as in the case of so young a lady; her still more youthful sister came last, but no particulars are given beyond the effulgence which singled her out in the throng of her companions.²

The sons of Charles also are introduced in these and other poetical contributions, but as they are already slightly known to the reader, it is unnecessary to cite the lines. Charles, the eldest, was the constant companion of his father, and, it is thought, his favorite, whom he meant to be his immediate successor in the throne; Carloman, his second son, the same who in baptism was christened "Pepin," was cultured and skilled in arms. Louis also was a young man of great promise. As a boy the administrators of his kingdom arrayed him in Aquitanian costume, and sent him, with a number of his companions similarly attired, to Paderborn, where their gay uniform and martial bearing captivated the king and the Franks generally.

We shall soon meet with the royal sons in other connections, but as history but rarely takes note of the royal daughters, present what is known of them at once.

"The plan [Charles] adopted for his children's education was, first of all, to have both his sons and daughters instructed in the liberal arts, to which he also turned his own attention.

"As soon as their years admitted, in accordance with the custom of the Franks, his sons had to learn horsemanship, and practise war and the chase; while his daughters were taught cloth-making as well as the use of the distaff and spindle, that they might not grow indolent through idleness.

"He fostered in them every virtuous sentiment" . . . and was so careful of the training of his children, "that he

¹ "Sophocleaque . . . coturno." ² Angilbert, *Carmen*, Dümmler, *l. c.* I., p. 371 sq.—*Illustrative Extracts*, Appendix I.

never took his meals without them when he was at home, and never made a journey without [some of] them; his sons would ride at his side, and his daughters follow him, while a number of his body-guard, detailed for their protection, brought up the rear.

"Strange to say, though they were very handsome, and he greatly loved them, he was never willing to marry any of them to a man of their own nation or to a foreigner, but kept them all at home until his death, saying that he could not dispense with their society.

"Hence, though otherwise happy, he experienced the malignity of fortune as far as they were concerned; yet he concealed his knowledge of the rumors current in regard to them, and of the suspicions entertained of their honor."¹

These statements of the biographer of Charles require correction and comment in sundry particulars. It will be remembered that the princess Rotrud was affianced in childhood to the emperor Constantine. For reasons not known Charles cancelled the engagement.² His court was certainly licentious, and unfortunately his beautiful daughters were most indiscreet. Count Roriko of Maine had a *liaison* with the princess Rotrud, and their son Louis became subsequently abbot of St. Denis and other monasteries as well as prothonotary to Charles the Bald.³ In view of this undoubted fact, it is surprising that contemporary writers not only extol her beauty and intellectuality, but her virtue.⁴ She took much interest in poetry and theology, and Alcuin, at any rate, must have had a lofty conception of her purity,

¹ Vita Caroli, c. 19.

² Annal. Einh. a. 788. The official betrothal of Rotrud to Constantine VI. was solemnly enacted on the occasion of the king's presence at Rome in 781. Annal. Mosell.; Vita Caroli, c. 19; Theophanes, ed. de Boor, I., 455. The engagement was broken off in 787, according to Annal. Einh., and other Frankish authorities at the instance of Charles, but the Byzantine

authorities represent Irene as taking the initiative. Theophanes, *l. c.* p. 463 sq.

³ Hincmar, Rem. Ann., 867. Mabilon, *Ann. Bened.* II., 634, 648, 650, 667. Lup. ep. 25, Migne v. CXIX., 475.

⁴ Rotthrud *carmen amat, mentis clarissima virgo, virgo decora satis et moribus inclita virgo.*—Angilb. *Carm.* 2, 43 sq.

for he bestowed upon her the endearing nickname of *Columba* (dove) and dedicated to her, in conjunction with her aunt Gisla, the commentary on the Gospel of St. John,¹ which he wrote at their request.² She died in 810, and all the world knew that Charles shed many tears for her, and that his forgiveness sweetened her death.

The princess Bertha also had a peculiar history. It is of record that her brother Charles was suitor for the hand of the daughter of Offa, King of Mercia, and that that monarch refused his consent unless the King of the Franks agreed to sanction the marriage of a Mercian prince and the Frankish princess Bertha. Charles indignantly rejected the proposal, and broke off all intercourse with Mercia.³ The royal maiden, though denied to a royal suitor, might favor the attentions of the poetic Angilbert, her senior in years, an abbot, and honored with the special confidence of her sire. The *auriculus* of Charles won her heart and they were married in private. It was a dreadful *mésalliance* and the discovery a great shock to all concerned. Nevertheless it is believed that the king recognized and legitimated the union, and certain, that Hartnidus, and Nithardus, the historian, were its offspring. Nithardus himself narrates the fact, and the poetic husband of Bertha in one of his productions, written in a foreign land, adverts with tender feeling to the royal palace, and to his own house near by, where his sons play in the garden. How he spoke of Bertha is evident from the passage already presented,⁴ but it is difficult to reconcile the dates and the tradition of an alleged dissolution of their marriage by mutual consent. It is undoubtedly false that Bertha took the veil in 790, for in 799 she is foremost in the gayeties of court-life; she is at court in 814 at the time of her father's death, and appeared as late as 826 at the court of Louis in Soissons.⁵ Of Angil-

¹ Alc. Epp. 136, 137, 158, 159, ed. Jaffé.

² Vita Alch. *ibid.* p. 28.

³ Gest. abb. Fontan. MG. SS. II., 291.

⁴ See p. 229.

⁵ Hariulf, Chron. Centul. in Achéry, Spicileg. ed. 2, II., 291. Angilberti Vita apud Mabill. I., 108 sqq.

bert more remains to be said, and we pass on to what is known of the other sisters.

The princess Gisla was by common consent the noblest and most virtuous of the daughters of Hildegard. Not a whisper is heard to dim her fair fame for goodness, piety, and the loftiest accomplishments of her age.

A similar encomium is due to the princess Theodrada, the eldest daughter of Fastrada, who, though abbess of Argenteuil, lived at court and seems to have escaped the taint of its atmosphere.

Her sister, princess Hiltrud, was less fortunate. She also was a titular abbess, but had a love-affair with count Odilo.

Princess Rothild, the daughter of Maltegard, likewise abbess of Faremoutier, is also entitled to the benefit of the doubt, for the annals maintain an almost absolute silence concerning her.

The same applies to Adaltrud, the daughter of Gersuinda.

It would be wrong to stain these pages with the record of dark and unsubstantiated rumors, but that of the incident immediately after the death of Charles cannot be withheld.

One of the first acts of Louis, preceding his arrival at Aix-la-Chapelle, was the appointment of four commissioners charged, among other things, with the duty of setting in order the imperial establishment, and stopping the scandal connected with the conduct of the princesses of the blood royal.

Some of the courtiers implicated in it appeared before the commissioners as suppliants for mercy and obtained forgiveness; but a certain Hodoinus adopted the attitude of a rebel, and when two of the commissioners, Warnarius and his nephew Lantbertus, attempted his arrest, he drew his sword and killed Warnarius. Lantbertus slew the murderer on the spot, but was severely wounded in the encounter.

Louis was exasperated and visited his indignation on Tullius, another lover; he spared his life, but had his eyes put out.

This was followed by more radical measures. He applied

himself to the conscientious execution of his father's will, and then commanded all females, who on various pretences had taken up their abode in the palace, to leave it forthwith; only very few were permitted to remain in the service of the court.

As for his sisters, he required them to withdraw to the places which Charles had assigned to them, and made provision for those who had not been thus remembered. But all went to where they were bidden. The language of the biographer of Louis is most sweeping, for he excludes not one of the sisters.¹

(Such being the family of Charles, a few facts of its daily life and habits may not be out of place.) *levé*

— Charles disliked extravagance and ostentation.

His meals were simple, for "he was temperate in eating, and especially in drinking, since he abominated drunkenness in anybody, much more in himself, and those of his household; but he could not easily abstain from food, and often complained that fasts injured his health."²

His large frame, robust health, and plentiful exercise induced a state of chronic appetite, which abhorred fasting. An excellent churchman, he held that the Lenten fast was indispensable to the salvation of others, and we have seen that the poor Saxons, who dared to break it in the matter of meat, lost their heads. He doubtless disgusted the army with General Orders promulgated upon the occasion of the Frankish victory over the Avars, enjoining a three days' abstinence from meat and wine, although we learn that provision was made for those who, like himself, could not abstain, in the purchase of the necessary dispensation.³

In his own case he was wont during Lent after Mass and Vespers had been said to dine at the eighth hour of the day, because, according to the Monk, he did not in doing so break the Rule, for he took nothing from that hour until the same hour on the following day, "according to the precept of the Lord."

¹ Vita Hlud. Pii, apud Bouquet, VI., 97.

² Vita Caroli, c. 24.

³ Epist. ad Fastr., Bouquet, V., 623.

A certain bishop, more severe than wise, undertaking to censure the royal practice, overshot the mark. The king humbly received the correction, and suppressing his indignation said to the ecclesiastic: "You have well spoken, sir bishop, but I now desire you to take your dinner after the servants of the court have had theirs."

The ninth hour, that is 3 P.M., it is proper to add, was the hour of the day when dinner might be taken, and that in the Middle Ages, the canonical hour for Vespers was 4 P.M., or later. The apparent contradiction that Charles, according to the Monk, dined after Vespers, may be explained on the supposition that in order to satisfy his conscience, he caused Vespers to be said for himself before 2 P.M. A French writer calls the arrangement, if it took place, *une tricherie*, and seems to hit the nail on the head.

But to continue the story. Charles sat down to his meal, and was waited upon by kings (?), princes, dukes, and such exalted personages; at the close of his dinner the said kings, princes, and dukes had theirs, and were served by counts and prefects; then the counts and prefects dined, and were followed in succession by those next in rank, the military and palace functionaries, the guards, and lastly by the servants, whose turn came not until the middle of the night. After them the critical bishop was served.

When Lent was nearly over, and the aforesaid bishop was still smarting under the imperial castigation, Charles said to him, not without a spice of humorous malice, "Look here, sir bishop, I think you have found out that if in Lent I dine *before* Vespers, I do so on prudential grounds rather than because I cannot abstain."¹

The Monk's anecdote depicts the palace usage as to the order in which those connected with the establishment sat down to their meals.

The daily dinner served to the king consisted of only four courses besides the roast, mostly of game, which the hunters brought in on the spit; this was the king's favorite dish.

¹ Monach. Sangall.—Bouquet, V., 111.

Charles shared the table with his family; a chaplain said grace; conversation was carried on in a low voice, for provision was made for recitations or readings, which were never omitted.¹ The reader mostly gave select passages from the writings of St. Augustin, the king's favorite author, and especially from the "City of God," which he preferred to all the rest.

Charles rarely drank more than thrice of wine or any other beverage. In summer he was wont to take a light dessert of fruit after the midday meal, with one cup; then he undressed and slept two or three hours.²

This habit explains another to which it gave rise, that of rising four or five times during the night, for he suffered from sleeplessness.

Whilst dressing he allowed his friends to bear him company, and if the Count Palatine then notified him of some cause which could not be settled without his decision, he ordered the parties to be introduced, took cognizance of the points at issue, and gave sentence as readily as if he were sitting on the bench. In addition to such judicial decisions, he mapped out the work of the day, and gave necessary orders to his ministers.³

State dinners were of rare occurrence, but he was wont to mark the principal feasts of the year by royal banquets to which numerous guests were invited.

He loved to display in his ordinary dress the same simplicity which reigned at his table.

"He wore the national, that is, the Frankish dress,—next to his skin a linen shirt, and linen breeches, and above these a tunic fringed with silk; while hose fastened by bands covered his lower limbs, and shoes his feet; he protected his shoulders and chest in winter by a close-fitting coat of

¹ Poeta Saxo.

² Vita Caroli, c. 24. Long before the time of Charles it was customary to sing *vulgares cantilena*, *gentilitia carmina* during meals. Alfridus says in *Vita Liudgeri*, l. II., c. I., that "while he was at table with his dis-

ciples some one brought in a blind man, called Bernlef, who was much beloved throughout the neighborhood, because of his amiability, and skilful singing of the exploits and wars of the ancient kings."

³ Vita Caroli, c. 24.

otter or marten skins. Over all he flung a blue cloak, and always had a sword girt about him, usually one with a gold or silver hilt and belt; he sometimes carried a jewelled sword, but only on great feast days, or at the reception of ambassadors from foreign nations. . . . On great feast days he made use of embroidered clothes, and shoes bedecked with precious stones; his cloak was fastened by a golden buckle, and he wore a golden diadem set with gems; on other days his dress varied little from the common dress of the people."¹ The ordinary and inevitable cloak or *pallium* was double, either white or sapphire-colored; the shape was four-square and it fell from the shoulders so as to touch the feet behind and before, but left the sides from the knees downward entirely free; the hose were really leggings, and the linen of that peculiarly glossy kind, still manufactured in Germany, and known as *Glanz-Leinwand*.²

Equestrian exercise, the hunt, and the bath were his favorite pastimes. The first two were peculiar to his family and nation, for the Franks were famed for their horsemanship and love of the chase.

A large piece of forest, enclosed throughout with walls, and near the palace at Aix-la-Chapelle, was reserved as a park for game. Woodland, glade, and meadow, enlivened by the little stream of the Worm, made it a splendid preserve, in which game of every kind, especially deer, stags, and wild boar, were kept. It was the chosen scene of the royal hunt, of which a frequent participant and spectator has left a spirited description. He says:

"A vast concourse of huntsmen and ladies including the princesses royal, indeed the whole court, await the signal for the start. Trained dogs and hounds are let loose; their yelping, howling, and barking fills the air; eager for the blood of their victims they tear through the thick underbrush and follow the scent. An animal is brought to cover, and the huntsmen surround the copse in which it has sought shelter. A wild boar bounds through the valley, pursued

¹ Vita Caroli, c. 23.

² Monach. Sangall. I., 36. MG. SS. II., 747.

by the hounds; the sound of the dogs directs the hunters through the depth of the forest. One of the hounds flies with unerring instinct over the wild boar's track, without uttering a sound; others, athirst for blood, yell aloud, but misled by the scent, renew the pursuit; other canine eyes have sighted the beast and madly follow its course.

"The chase grows exciting; the forest rings with the loud echoes of the wild din; the notes of the horn rouse and quicken the most savage instincts of the savage brutes and conduct them to where the infuriated boar shows its terrible tusks.

"The rustling leaves drop from the shaken boughs; the boar escapes, bounds away from its pursuers up the steepest places, and terribly grunting, climbs the most inaccessible points of the rocky crest; at last, utterly exhausted with the effort, and unable to use its feet, sits panting on its haunches. The dogs have tasted its blood and felt its tusks; some are driven back; others, fiercer than the rest, are tossed bleeding into the air.

"At that supreme moment the king arrives on the scene; fleetlier than bird in its flight, he tears through the crowd, strikes the breast of the beast with his sword, and drives the cold blade home to the hilt. The wild boar falls and, the blood streaming forth from the fatal wound, expires, and its body rolls in the yellow sand.

"The royal family, maidens and all, have witnessed the feat from a commanding point."¹

On another occasion Charles treated the Persian² ambassadors to an *auerochs* (*i. e.*, a buffalo) hunt; they were not very plucky, for the sight of the game was enough for them, and they incontinently left the park. Not so Charles, who knew not what fear was. Vaulting into the saddle, and urging his fleet charger, he bore down upon one of the fierce animals, drew his sword; but in the attempt of cutting off its

¹ Carmen, etc., apud. Bouquet, V., 390.—Appendix, I.

² That is, the ambassadors of Harun al Raschid, who in the Annals and other contemporary authorities figures as "Aaron, King of the Persians." Annal. Einh., a. 801, 802, 807; Monach. Sangall. II., 8, al.

head, missed the mark. The infuriated beast turned to the assault and with its horns tore the king's shoes, slightly grazed his legs, and then rushed into the thicket. The cavaliers surrounded him and would fain have torn off his shoes and dressed his wounds, but he forbade them.

It so happened that count Isambart, against whom Irmingard, the queen of Louis of Aquitaine, for some cause unknown, had a grudge, pursued the auerochs, and hurling his javelin at it, sent the weapon between the throat and the shoulder. It pierced the heart, and the count took it still palpitating to the king. Charles, apparently ignoring the feat, bade the courtiers divide the body, rode home, and, sending for Irmingard, said to her: "What does the man deserve who saved me from the enemy that gave me this wound?" "Any and every kind of reward," replied the queen. Then Charles told her all, sent for the horns of the animal, and pledged the queen to intercede with her husband for his deliverer. Thus the lucky Isambart was restored to favor and amply rewarded.¹

Besides the chase, bathing was an exercise in which Charles took great delight. In summer he loved to swim in the Rhine, or wherever he might be. He was an excellent swimmer; aptitude and practice had made him so perfect that none could surpass him in the art. He was also very fond of the hot water springs at Aix, and for that reason, it is said, built there the most famous of his palaces. He was wont to bathe not only with his sons but his nobles and friends, and occasionally invited the troop of his body-guard and satellites, so that sometimes as many as a hundred persons or more were his companions in the bath.²

Such modern pastimes as the theatre and the concert, perhaps also the opera, were not unknown at the court of Charles. Traces of spectacular displays are not wanting. Angilbert was passionately fond of them, and Alcuin denounced them as sinful;³ a capitulum forbidding actors, on

¹ Monach. Sangall., II.

II., 15; Angilbert, Carm. 6, 106-

² Einh. *Vita Caroli*, c. 22; Poeta 111.

Saxo., V., 321 sqq; Monach. Sangall. ³ Alc. epp. 116, 177 ed. Jaffé.

pain of corporal punishment and banishment, to appear on the stage in the costume of clerics, monks, or nuns, not only demonstrates the existence of theatrical performances, but shows the estimate in which players were held, the extent to which clerical influence shaped public sentiment, and that the exhibitions were not miracle plays.¹

Musical diversion and exercise and buffoonery may lurk in the *acroama* or dinner accompaniment, for the term designates anything heard with pleasure, such as jocose recitations of punsters or court wits, festal or ludicrous compositions, musical and even mimic exhibitions.²

The regular institution of religious readings may have been relished by the clerics present, but it stands to reason that the literary productions or conceits of members of the Palace School, although writ in Latin, commanded better attention by the general company, while the recitation of old heroic and national songs, in use among the several nationalities merged in the Frankish empire, and especially in vogue with the soldiers as march-songs, was probably the most popular of such prandial accompaniments.

It is known that Charles was much interested in their collection, and their reduction to writing was probably the beginning of the heroic and romance literature of a later age.

¹ "Si quis ex *scenicis* vestem sacerdotalem aut monasticam, vel mulieris religiosæ vel qualicunque ecclesiastico statu similem indutus fuerit, corporali

pœnæ subsistat, et exilio tradatur." Capitul. I. V. c. 2, apud Heineccius.

² Ducange, s. v. *acroama* sq.

CHAPTER IX.

THE PALACE SCHOOL.—CHARLES AND ALCUIN.

Alcuin.—The Palace School.—Pseudonyms.—Colloquies between Alcuin and Pepin, and Alcuin and Charles.—Culture of Charles.

PERHAPS the least roundabout way of solving the question of the intellectual ability and culture of Charles is to dive into *medias res* and catch him, as it were, in the Palace School, which in the early years of his reign was peripatetic, that is, it went with him wherever he went.

Its head, its life and soul, was Alcuin, doubtless the ablest and best informed man of his age, and next to Charles the most remarkable.

His history, for the purpose in hand, may be told in a few paragraphs. He was born at York in 735, the year in which the venerable Bede died, of noble parentage, and at an early age entered the monastery school conducted by archbishop Egbert, and Aelbert. The former taught him the theology of the New Testament, the latter science and General Literature.

The secular course comprised Grammar, Rhetoric, Jurisprudence, Poetry, Astronomy, Physics, and the Explanation of the Old Testament.¹

At the age of about twenty he accompanied his master to France and Italy, and upon his elevation to the episcopate, succeeded him in the school at York.

The archbishop died in 780, and Eanbald, his successor, sent Alcuin to Rome to obtain his pallium. On that journey he was presented to Charles at Parma (in 781), and invited by him to settle in his dominions for the purpose of organizing the schools of his empire. This led to his removal to

¹ Alcuin, *Poema de Pontif. et Sanct. Eccl. Ebor.* v. 1431 sqq.

the Frankish court, and a residence of eight years. Into that period, say from 782-790,¹ falls the establishment of the Palace School, and other scholastic institutions. This appointment was not permanent, and the necessities of the Church in his own country induced his return.

The turbulent condition of England, however, made him long for the more genial atmosphere of Francia, and entertain the brilliant offers of Charles, who, in due course, conferred upon him the rich enjoyment of the abbeys of Ferrières, St. Loup, St. Josse-sur-Mer, and St. Martin at Tours.

The last of these he chose as his permanent home, and established there the model school of all conventual institutions. There he lived and taught, there he wrote, dreamed, and revised the Scriptures; there he died in 804, and was buried by the side of St. Martin.²

His relations to Charles were intimate, cordial, and confidential. One can hardly err in ascribing to him almost all the theological documents and writings interblended with the political growth and development of the Frankish empire in that reign; the theology of Charles; the theology, and probably much of the jurisprudence of the Capitularies; to his influence must be traced some of the enlightened views of Charles; the mercy, the lofty aims, and the ethical apothegms, so remarkable in the life and speech of that remarkable monarch.

Of the works of Alcuin extant we refer to his epistles, so often mentioned and cited in different portions of this volume; his theological treatises on exegetical and dogmatical topics; his liturgical, hagiographic, and ethical essays; a volume of poems, and a compend on education touching grammar, orthography, dialectics, and astronomy. Of these he is known to be the author, but there are a number of others besides which are ascribed to him.

He influenced his age, by his writings, his teaching, and

¹ His pupils Wizo (*Candidus*), Frigidus (*Nathanael*), and Sigulf (*Vetulus*), all men of parts, accompanied him.

² Vita Alcuini auct. anonymo, pre-fixed to his works; and Lorenz, *Alcuin*.

the force of his virtuous example, and conferred a lasting benefit on mankind at a time when darkness covered the mind of the world and thick darkness the liberal arts.

He even subjected the corrupt text of the Latin Scriptures to a remarkable recension, and taking all in all, the world has reason to thank God for sending Alcuin to Charles. In many respects he was his good angel; probably the purest, doubtless the most able, affectionate, and thoughtful of his advisers.

A synopsis of his letters to the king, presented elsewhere, sheds light on their intellectual and personal intercourse.¹

A glance at the famous Palace School is now in order. Such a school had always—from time immemorial—formed part of the Frankish Court,² but Charles infused new spirit and life into it.

His own children and those of the court population, as well as himself, older members of his family, and the courtiers generally are named among the pupils. The children, of course, received ordinary and extraordinary instruction; the older pupils, however, appear to have pursued less formal and more discursive studies. Among the former we can mention by name the royal children, and among the latter Charles, Gisla the abbess of Chelles, the abbot Adalhard and his sister Gundrada; the famous Angilbert, the queen Liutgard, the archbishops of Mayence and Salzburg, the bishop of Orleans, Einhard, and others. These illustrious personages, presumably under the predominating influence of Alcuin, agreed to form an academy or literary club which met at stated times for literary, scientific, and social intercourse. They interchanged poetic epistles, discussed literary and scientific topics, and even brought in conundrums and puzzles.³ The members of the coterie dropped their true names, and assumed pseudonyms of pagan, profane, and sacred origin. Charles figures as *David*,

¹ See Appendix, D.

² See Léon Maitre, *Les Écoles pis-copales*, p. 34 sqq; cf. Sohm, *Die*

Fränkische Reichs-und Gerichtsverfassung, p. 342.

³ Wattenbach, l. c., p. 147; Oebeke, *De Academia Caroli Magni*.

his sister Gisla, as *Lucia*, and his daughter, her namesake, as *Delia*; Rotrud was called *Columba*, the queen Liutgard *Ava*, and the aforesaid Gundrada *Eulalia*; Alcuin bore the name of *Flaccus*, Angilbert that of *Homer*, and Theodulf of Orleans that of *Pindar*; the archbishop of Mayence answered to the call of *Dametas*, and the bishop of Sens to that of *Samuel*; while Audulf the seneschal, and Magenfrid the chamberlain, bore the idyllic nicknames of *Mencas* and *Thyrsis*.

These curious pseudonyms appear to have been chosen, at least in some instances, from a supposed resemblance on the part of the several members of the association to famous personages in antiquity, real or fictitious. Thus Einhard, who held the post of superintendent of public works, was dubbed *Beseleel*, after the skilful architect of the Tabernacle; but sometimes the meaning of a common name suggested a more poetic form, as in the case of Witto, or Wizo, signifying white, who became known as *Candidus*, and in that of Arno, signifying eagle, who received the name of *Aquila*. The whole nomenclature was perhaps originally only a pleasantry of Alcuin's, who gravely justified the change of name on evangelical authority; the practice was kept up for many years, and as late as 836 the abbot Wala of Corbie appears in the guise of *Arsenius* and *Jeremiah*, and in 837, Amalarius, the priest-headmaster of the Palace School, in that of *Symphosius*.

An entertaining specimen of catechetical instruction drawn up by Alcuin for Pepin, and, presumably, other of his more youthful hearers, is here presented. It is taken from *The Disputation of Pepin, the most noble and royal youth, with Albinus* [another nickname for Alcuin] *the pedagogue*, and we add, that Pepin was then about sixteen years old.

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|--------------------------|----------------------------------|
| P. What is writing? | A. The custodian of history. |
| P. What is speech? | A. The interpreter of the soul. |
| P. What produces speech? | A. The tongue. |
| P. What is the tongue? | A. The whip of the air. |
| P. What is air? | A. The guardian of life. |
| P. What is life? | A. The joy of the good, the sor- |

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| | row of the evil, the expectation of death. |
| P. What is death? | A. An inevitable event, an uncertain journey, a subject of weeping to the living, the fulfilment of wills, the thief of men. |
| P. What is man? | A. The slave of death, a transient traveller, a host in his dwelling. |
| P. What is man like? | A. Like a fruit-tree. |
| P. How is man placed? | A. Like a lantern exposed to the wind. |
| P. Where is he placed? | A. Between six walls. |
| P. Which are they? | A. Above, below; before, behind; right, left. . . . |
| P. To how many changes is he liable? | A. To six. |
| P. Which are they? | A. Hunger and satiety; rest and work; waking and sleeping. |
| P. What is sleep? | A. The image of death. |
| P. What is the liberty of man? | A. Innocence. |
| P. What is the head? | A. The top of the body. |
| P. What is the body? | A. The domicile of the soul. |

Then follow twenty-six questions on the different parts of the body, of which a few may suffice.

- | | |
|-------------------------|--|
| P. What is the beard? | A. The distinction of sex, the honor of age. |
| P. What is the mouth? | A. The nourisher of the body. |
| P. What is the stomach? | A. The cook of food. |
| P. What are the feet? | A. A movable foundation. |

From a number of questions on natural science, we select these:

- | | |
|-------------------|-----------------------------|
| P. What is light? | A. The torch of all things. |
| P. What is day? | A. An incitement to work. |

- P. What is the sun? A. The splendor of the universe, the beauty of the sky, the glory of day, the distributor of the hours.
- P. What is the moon? A. The eye of night, the dispenser of dew, the prophet of storms.
- P. What are the stars? A. The pictures of the roof of the heavens, the guides of sailors, the ornament of night.
- P. What is rain? A. The reservoir of the earth, the mother of the fruits.
- P. What is fog? A. Night in day, a labor of the eyes.
- P. What is wind? A. The disturbance of the air, the commotion of the waters, the dryness of the earth.
- P. What is the earth? A. The mother of all that grows, the nourisher of all that lives, the barn of life, an omnivorous gulf.
- P. What is the sea? A. The path of the daring, the frontier of land, the divider of continents, the hostility of rivers, the fountain of rain, a refuge in peril, a treat in pleasure.
- P. What is frost? A. A persecutor of plants, a destroyer of leaves, a fetter of the earth, a fountain of water.
- P. What is snow? A. Dry water.
- P. What is winter? A. The exile of summer.
- P. What is spring? A. The painter of the earth.
- P. What is summer? A. The reclothing of the earth, the maturer of the fruits.
- P. What is autumn? A. The barn of the year.

Omitting the rest of this class of questions, a few of a miscellaneous character are now in place.

- P. What makes bitter A. Hunger.
sweet?
- P. What is it that men A. Gain.
never tire of?
- P. What is the dream of A. Hope.
the waking?
- P. What is hope? A. The refreshment of labor
(a doubtful event).
- P. What is friendship? A. Similarity of mind.
- P. What is faith? A. The certainty of things unknown and wonderful.
- P. What is wonderful? A. I lately saw a man stand
and a dead man walk who never
existed.
- P. How can this be? A. It was an image in the
Please explain. water.
- P. Why did I not understand this by myself, considering that I have often seen such a man? A. Because you are a good
young man, and quick of perception, I shall speak to you
of other wonderful things.
Try, if you can, to find them
out by yourself.
- P. I will try, but if I fail, please correct me. A. Rest assured that I will do
as you desire. A person unknown to me has spoken to me
without tongue or voice; he
never existed before, does not
exist now, and never will exist
hereafter; I never heard nor
saw him.
- P. You dreamt, master, I think; did you? A. Right, my son. Now hear
another. I saw the dead
bring forth the living, and the
breath of the living devour
the dead.
- P. By the friction of boughs fire is produced, which devours them. A. That is true. . . .

After a number of similar puzzles the colloquy terminates as follows :

- A. Do you know what *is*, P. Nothing.
and *is not*, at the same time ?
A. How can a thing be and P. It exists only in name, not
not be? in reality.
A. What is a silent messen- P. I hold one in my hand.
ger ?
A. What do you hold in P. My [*al. thy*] letter.
your hand ?
A. Go, and be happy in the
reading.¹

This catechetical exercise illustrates the method of Alcuin's instruction of the young, while the conceits and pleasantries introduced doubtless shed light on the eminently social character of the proceedings in the Palace School. They prove among other things that eleven centuries ago there was as much humor and poor punning in vogue at Aix-la-Chapelle as in miscellaneous gatherings of modern times. They entered into the literary recreations of the Court, and it is pleasant to think of David, Homer, Flaccus, Nathanael, Lucia, Columba, and Ava, cracking jokes, and beguiling the tedious hours with such harmless and entertaining pursuits. Their perusal can hardly fail to raise a smile, but it should be borne in mind that in those days there was hardly any literature, and even the light literature of the age was drawn from occult sources, and familiar to only a few.

It is probable that Dialogue was the distinctive feature of Alcuin's oral teaching ; at any rate it characterized his instruction of the king, as appears from the subjoined example, in which Charles is introduced as pupil and Alcuin as his teacher.

Charles. Proceed now with your philosophic definitions of the virtues, and first of all define virtue.

¹ Alcuini Opera, Migne, CL., 975 sqq.

- Alcuin. Virtue is a habit of the mind, an ornament of nature, a rule of life, and an ennobler of manners.
Charles. How many parts does it contain ?
Alcuin. Four : prudence (wisdom), justice, fortitude, temperance.
Charles. What is prudence ?
Alcuin. The knowledge of things and nature.
Charles. How many parts does it contain ?
Alcuin. Three : memory, intelligence, and foresight (*providentia*).
Charles. Tell me their definitions also.
Alcuin. Memory is the power of the mind which recalls the past ; intelligence is the power by which it perceives the present ; foresight is the power by which it foresees something future before it comes to pass.
Charles. Explain the nature of justice.
Alcuin. Justice is the habit of the mind which gives to everything the merit it deserves ; it preserves the worship of God, the laws of man, and the equities of life.
Charles. Unfold also the parts of justice.
Alcuin. They spring from the law of nature, and the uses of custom.
Charles. How from the law of nature ?
Alcuin. Because it comprises certain powers of nature, such as religion, piety, gratitude (*gratia*), vindication, observance, and truth.
Charles. Explain this more clearly, and one by one.
Alcuin. Religion is the careful pondering of things pertaining to God, together with the ceremonial due to him. Piety is the loving discharge of what is due to kin, and to one's native land [*i. e.*, in modern phrase, patriotism]. Gratitude is the recollection of another's acts of friendship and kindness, and the disposition to reward them. Vindication is the effectual defence of what is right, and the effectual punishment or avengement of injury and wrong. Observance is the respectful and

honorable recognition of the dignity of superiors. Truth is the power whereby things present, past and future are declared.

Charles. How is justice subserved by the use of custom?

Alcuin. By pact or agreement; by parity, *i. e.*, equity; by judgment; and by law.

Charles. I ask also for more information on these points.

Alcuin. A pact is an agreement reached by mutual consent. Parity is observing equity or impartiality to all men. Judgment is a decision rendered by some great man, or established by the sentence of a plurality. Law is right set forth for the whole people, which all are bound to guard and observe.

The remainder is omitted to make room for the concluding part of the dialogue.

Charles. . . . Master, you predict some great and truly blessed man.

Alcuin. May God make you great, O lord my king, and truly blessed; may He grant that in the four-span chariot of the virtues, of which we have conversed, you may, unhurt by this wicked world, wing your way to the citadel of heaven.

Charles. God grant that your prediction may come to pass.

Alcuin. I trust that this discussion, which began in the ever-changing whirl of ordinary conversation, may have such a blessed consummation of everlasting stability, that no man may charge us with having only indulged in useless disputings by the way.

Charles. Could any one really interested in the pursuit and investigation of matters so important to society at large, and truly desirous of practicing such excellent virtues, have it in his heart to hazard the daring assertion that our discussion has been in vain? For myself I frankly confess that love of knowledge only has prompted my questions; and I thank you for your kindness in answering them.

I highly value the affectionate candor of your replies, and feel convinced that they will be most profitable to all who without prejudice or the blot of envy may sit down and read them.¹

Thus Charles spoke and thought; and this brief dialogue both marks the man in at least one grand and unusual element of his greatness, and to some extent sheds light on at least one prolific source of his power.

He was ever learning, and fond of learning; no subject came amiss to him; everything from the most commonplace every-day occurrence to the profoundest philosophical and theological inquiries interested him.

The price of commodities; the stocking and planting of farms; the building of houses, churches, palaces, bridges, fortresses, ships, and canals; the course of the stars; the text of the Scriptures; the appointment of schools; the sallies of wit; the hair-splitting subtleties of metaphysics; the unknown depths of theology; the origins of law; the reason of usage in the manner and life of the nations; their traditions in poetry, legend, and song; the mysterious framework of liturgical forms; musical notation; the Gregorian chant; the etymology of words; the study of languages; the flexion of verbs, and many more topics.

(He was the most many-sided man intellectually in all Europe, and with all his marvellous powers, there lay in his relations to Alcuin the irresistible charm of unaffected docility, sincere attachment, reverential regard, and true modesty.

He spoke Latin as fluently as German, and had a fair knowledge of Greek. Einhard says that "he spent much time and labor with Alcuin in the study of rhetoric, dialectics, and astronomy, learned arithmetic, and with eager curiosity and intelligent scrutiny applied himself to the investigation

¹ Alcuini Dial. de Rhetor. et Virtut. Migne, CI., 944 sqq.—Literature on the Palace School.—Wattenbach, *Deutschlands Geschichtsquellen im Mittelalter*, 5 ed., I., 142 sqq.; Mullinger, *The Schools of Charles the Great and the Restoration of Education in the Ninth Century*, London, 1877; Théry, *L'École et l'Académie Palatines*. Alcuin. Amiens, 1878.

of the motions of the heavenly bodies. He also tried to write, and used to keep tablets and blanks in bed under his pillow, that at leisure hours he might accustom his hand to form letters; however, as he did not begin his efforts in due season, but late in life, they met with ill-success.¹)

¹ Vita Caroli, c. 24.

CHAPTER X.

FAMOUS MEN. — LITERATURE. — LIBRARIES. — ARCHITECTURE. — PUBLIC WORKS.

Adalhard. — Angilbert. — Einhard. — Theodulf. — Clement. — Peter of Pisa. — Paulus Diaconus. — *Homiliarium*. — Other distinguished men. — Schools. — Books. — Libraries. — Astronomy. — Grammar. — Names of the winds and the months. — Medical men. — Architecture. — Basilica and Palace at Aix-la-Chapelle. — Rhine-bridge at Mayence. — Canal-building.

BESIDES Alcuin other men of note, already mentioned by name, stood in near personal relations to Charles.

Perhaps the oldest and most intimate of his friends was Adalhard, a son of count Bernhard, a grandson of Charles Martel, and cousin-german of Charles. Early in life he chose the monastic calling, and was abbot of Corbie, and founder of the abbey of Corvey in the Saxon country, where he died in 826. He wrote several works, but the most celebrated of them, his "Treatise of the Order and State of the Palace throughout the Frankish Realm," exists only in the reproduction of Hincmar, archbishop of Rheims. Charles consulted him on important matters and employed him in positions of the highest trust, such as imperial *missus*, administrator and *bainulus* of Bernhard, King of Italy, etc. He was a man of singular purity and strength, and one of the brightest ornaments of this reign.

Angilbert had been brought up with Charles and was essentially a man of the Court. His taste and habits were scholarly; much reading and culture, the gift of poetry, quick observation, and conversational power, made him a delightful companion. The king made him his *auriculus*, or privy councillor, and often singled him out as his representative on occasions requiring tact, good judgment, and statesmanship. The story of his love affair with the prin-

cess Bertha has been told. His cordial relations to Charles remained undisturbed to the last, and, by a singular coincidence, the abbot of St. Riquier died in his monastery about the time when Charles breathed his last at Aix-la-Chapelle.

Next to Alcuin, Einhard is believed, by some, to have been the most learned, and a very influential man at Court. A native of the Maingau, he was sent to school at Fulda; his bright ability attracted attention and led to his introduction, by the abbot, to Charles. He took an interest in him and placed him, as the companion of his own children, in the Palace School.

He rose rapidly, and successively filled the positions of superintendent of public works, councillor, and notary, or private secretary to Charles. He enjoyed to a remarkable degree the confidence of his sovereign, and to his influence is ascribed the designation of Louis, King of Aquitaine, as the associate of Charles in the imperial throne.

His biography is a masterpiece, constructed upon the model of the Life of Augustus by Suetonius. His portraiture is valuable both for what it states and suppresses; it was written in the next reign, and the fact that Louis was even more bountiful to him than his father, appears to be the true explanation of his vexatious silence and occasional perversions.

He is generally credited with the authorship of the Annals, which are among the most valuable authorities for this portion of history and generally cited by his name; but a collection of "Epistles" as well as the "History of the Translation of the Relics of St. Marcellinus and St. Pèter Martyr" are unquestionably products of his pen.¹

He was abnormally small in stature, and all the contemporary writers at the Court allude to him, but in a pleasant spirit, as a "manikin." Theodulf, Alcuin, and Walafrid Strabo jest about it, rehearse his praise, and express surprise that so much power, wisdom, and excellence should be housed in so very small a dwelling.

¹ Wattenbach, *l. c.* I., 186 sqq.

He was married to a certain Emma, or Imma, who is described in one of several worthless epitaphs at Seligenstadt, as the *legitimate* daughter of the great emperor Charles.¹

The well-known legend of Einhard and Imma rests upon the unsupported authority of the chronicle of the monastery of Lauresheim, an establishment endowed by Einhard. Had the writer been a contemporary, or possessed accurate information, his statements might be entitled to respect. But he wrote more than three centuries after the death of Einhard, introduced the name of Imma as that daughter of Charles who at one time was affianced to the emperor Constantine, and applied to her the part performed by the sister of Emperor Henry III., as told by William of Malmesbury in the Chronicle written about forty years before his own. This stamps the legend as purely fictitious; its mythical character is further apparent from the language in which Einhard refers to the daughters of Charles, which he would hardly have used if one of their number had been his wife,² and from the total silence of the lists as to the existence of a royal daughter who bore the name of Imma.³

It is impossible to determine if Imma was related to Charles or how, but there is no uncertainty whatsoever as to the affection in which the king held Einhard, or the intimacy of their relations.

This is stated best in his own words.

"To these reasons," he writes in the Prologue to his Life of Charles, "comes yet another, which in my opinion outweighs the rest, and of itself not only justifies, but necessarily compels me to write. I mean, the tender care bestowed upon me since my childhood, as well as the constant friendship with which both King Charles and his sons have favored me ever since I began to live at the Court.

"I feel bound to him by so many tokens of kindness, that I must needs cherish for him, now that he is dead, the same

¹ They are published in Weinken, *Eginhartus Illustratus*, pp. 16, 21. legend in Bouquet, V., 383. It is rejected by Bouquet, Guizot, Teulet, and the best writers generally.

² Vita Caroli, c. 19.

³ See the passage relating to the

gratitude which I bore to him when he was alive. Indeed I should be an ingrate if, forgetful of the benefits he ever lavished upon me, I could suffer his memory to pass away without narrating the most glorious and illustrious achievements of the man to whom I owe everything, and suffer his life to remain as if he had never lived, without the memorial and tribute of praise to which his shining merit entitles him."¹

Einhard and Imma had an only son, called Vussinus, who seems to have chosen the monastic profession, and after a preliminary education at Seligenstadt, was sent to the great monastery at Fulda and placed under the celebrated Rhabanus Maurus, its abbot from 822 to 847.

A letter of Einhard addressed to that son at the time of his departure for Fulda, opens an insight into his heart, and proclaims the man. No true parent will read it without profit or emotion.

"To my most dearly beloved son Vussinus, greeting in the Lord.

"I greatly fear that, when you have left the sheep-fold [his home at Seligenstadt], you may be alike forgetful of yourself and me, for inexperienced youth, unless held in by the bridle of discipline, is apt to forsake the ways of righteousness.

"Strive, therefore, dear child, to follow good example, and in no way give umbrage to the excellent man whom I have set before you as your model; as much as you are able, and your master may direct, remember your calling, and apply yourself to study.

"If you follow in practice his instructions, you will not fall short in vital knowledge. As I have advised you by word of mouth, so I now urge you to persevere in study that you become skilled in all the sciences which the brilliant genius of the eminent orator, your master, may unfold to you.

"But, above all things, endeavor to imitate his great

¹ Vita, Prologus.

virtues, for grammar, rhetoric, and the rest of the liberal arts, are vain things and hurtful to the servants of God, unless grace divine convince us to subordinate them to good morals, for 'knowledge puffeth up, but love edifieth.'

"I would rather know that you were dead, than that you are stained with vice and pride, for the Saviour enjoins us to learn and copy His gentleness and humanity, but He nowhere bids us imitate His miracles.

"What more shall I say? These and similar counsels you have often heard from my lips. God grant that by His grace you may sincerely love whatever promotes purity in heart, and purity in body. . . ."

Among the personal friends of Charles and the royal family, Theodulf, bishop of Orleans, held a distinguished, honored, and prominent position. He was the recognized poet of the Court, and in the Palace School bore the pseudonym of *Pindar*. His merits were considerable, and quite a number of his poems have been preserved. Some of his graphic descriptions are already familiar to the reader, as lively delineations of persons and incidents. This makes them peculiarly interesting and instructive. His perceptions were accurate, his vocabulary large, his culture considerable, his expression fluent and telling.

One of his poems describes a royal dinner, and the episcopal bard narrates a curious episode or incident when, after the courses of eatables had been despatched, he rose for the purpose of reading one of his compositions. They might be pleasant enough to the king, the royal family and members of the Palace School, but not over interesting to the bibulous sons of Mars present, one of whom, sarcastically introduced as "Wibodus the hero," appears to have been an absent-minded hearer; he struck his thick head three or four times, and fiercely glared at the poet. The king watched him closely and either frowned or expressed his disapprobation. The broad-shouldered and huge-limbed warrior thereupon set in motion the vast machinery of his

¹ "Ad Vussinum filium suum," in Einh. Epist. ed. Teulet, II., 45 sq.

frame, whose middle portion by reason of its hilly character was ever in the van, and with shaking knees pursued an oblique line of retreat, to the intense mirth of the spectators, who needs thought of Vulcan when they beheld his feet, and of the thunders of Jove when they heard his voice.¹

In spite of his high culture and sacred vocation, he occasionally dipped his pen in vitriol, and threw off unepiscopal adjectives and epithets in great profusion. Thus he lashed most unmercifully, in a carmen addressed to Angilbert (who by the bye was also a graceful poet and would relish the thrust), an unfortunate Irish schoolmaster, who somehow had disoblged him and obtained his reward; he calls him *Scottus, sottus, cottus*, dubs him "a thing," dire, atrocious, savage, vile, infamous, pestiferous, and worse. His crime seems to have been the unpardonable one of contradicting the bishop in argument, and, the savage assault implies as much, worse than all, defeating him.² Some think that the castigation was intended for the Irish Clement, of whom the ever-communicative monk of St. Gall draws, however, a very different picture.

"It so happened," he says, "that one day there arrived in

¹ Theod. Carm. *Ad Carolum Regem*.

² Idem, *Ad Angilbert*.—Migne, cv., 322.

"Haec ita dum fiunt, dum carmina nostra leguntur
Stet Scotellus ibi, res sine lege furens,
Res dira, hostis atrox, hebeo horror, pestis acerba,
Litigiosa lues, res fera, grande nefas.
Res fera, res turpis, res segnis, resque nefanda,
Res infesta piis, res inimica bonis,
Et manibus curvis, paulum cervice reflexa,
Non recta ad stolidum brachia pectus eant.
Anceps, attonitus, tremulus, furibundus, anhelus,
Stet levis aure, manu, lumine, mente, pede,
Et celeri motu nunc hos nunc comprimat illos,
Nunc gemitus tantum, nunc fera verba sonet.

Plurima qui didicit, nil fixum, nil quoque certum,
Quae tamen ignorat, omnia nosce putat.
Non ideo didicit, sapiens ut possit haberi,
Sed contendendi ut promptus ad arma foret."

Gaul two Scotchmen from Ireland,¹ fine scholars, well versed in letters sacred and profane. They had no merchandise to sell, but day after day cried in the market-place: 'Whoso desireth knowledge may have it of us, for we sell it.' This was only a figurative way of theirs, for they perceived that even then people were wont to value what they received, not according to its intrinsic worth, but according to what they paid for it.

"The matter being reported to Charles, he sent for the merchants of knowledge, and asked them if it was true that they carried knowledge about with them, as he had been told.

"'Yes,' said the men, 'we have it and are willing to part with it to such as sincerely seek it, for the glory of God.'

"Their answer pleased the king, and he committed to the care of one of them a number of children, belonging to the nobility, the middle and the lower classes, to teach them. This was Clement.

"After a long absence the most victorious Charles returned into Gaul, and caused the children, whom he had left with Clement as his pupils, to be brought before him. He required them to be examined, and was amazed at the commendable progress of the poorer class of children, whose written productions were most creditable to them. On the other hand, those of illustrious parentage showed very poor specimens of their skill.

"He then set the good scholars on his right, and the poor on his left, saying: 'I praise you much, dear children, for your excellent efforts, and desire you to continue so that you may attain unto perfection; then I intend to give you rich bishoprics, or splendid abbeys, and shall ever regard you as persons of merit.'

¹ Dungal, mentioned in a later paragraph, Clement, a certain Joseph (on terms of friendship with Alcuin and Liudger), and perhaps Dicuil, were Scotchmen from Ireland.

Joseph versified and addressed several metrical pieces, remarkable for artificial acrostics, to Charles.—Hagen,

Carmina Medii Aevi, p. 116, sqq.; Poet. Latin. aevi Carolin., I., 149 sqq. Dicuil wrote a work, *De mensura orbis terrae*; verses on grammar, and a metrical manual of astronomy in four books, remaining in manuscript.—Dümmler, *N.A.*, IV., 256, and Poet. Latin. aevi Carolin., I., 666.

"Then he turned in anger to those on his left, who trembled at his frowns and the sound of his voice, which resembled the roll of thunder, as he cried out to them: 'Look here, ye scions of our best nobility, ye pampered ones who, trusting to your birth or fortune, have disobeyed me, and instead of studying, as you were bound, and I expected you to do, have wasted your time in idleness, on play, luxury, or unprofitable occupation.'

"He then took his accustomed oath, and with uplifted head and arm, said in a voice of thunder: 'By the king of heaven, let others admire you as much as they please; as for me, I set little store by your birth or beauty; understand ye and remember it well, that unless you give heed speedily to amend your past negligence by diligent study, you will never obtain anything from Charles.'"¹

Peter of Pisa, a fine grammarian, taught grammar at the Court. Charles found him at Pavia, and claimed him as part of the spoil when he took that city. He was much beloved by Charles, Alcuin, and Angilbert. Alcuin heard him in his youthful days in a public disputation with Lullus, at Pavia, and sundry tributes to his memory have been preserved. He was advanced in years and died before 799; a grammar of his is still extant.²

Speaking of grammar, the name of Smaragdus, who taught it with great success at St. Mihiel on the Meuse, occurs, of whom it is known that he wrote a commentary on Donatus in which he selected his examples, not from the classics, but from the Bible and the Fathers. This he did in order to silence the objections of ultra-orthodox Christians and lazy scribes, who were wont to denounce grammar as a heathenish study.³

Among the men of note whom Charles drew to his court, Paulus Diaconus, the son of Warnefrid, deserves to be

¹ Monach. Sangall. I., 3. Bouquet, 42 sqq., Angilb. Carm. II., 19 sqq. V., 107. On Clement, see Simson, al. in Poet Latin. Carolin. I. *Jahrb. Ludw. d. Frommen*, II., 256

² Alcuini ep. 112 (Jaffé); Einh. Vita Caroli, c. 25; Alc. Carm. IV., p. 358; Wattenbach, *Schriftwesen im Mittelalter*, 2 ed. p. 37.

³ Mabillon, *Vet. Analect. nov. ed.*

specially mentioned. He was a native of Friuli, born about 720-725, of noble parentage, and received his education at the court of Rachis in Pavia; he was also warmly attached to Desiderius, and much beloved by him. His daughter Adelperga, the wife of Arigiso, duke of Benevento, was his pupil, and at the time of the fall of the Lombards he found an asylum at the Beneventan Court.

Arigiso was a man of intellectual tastes, and his Lombard wife fully sympathized with him. She was highly educated and an enthusiastic student. Her tenacious memory stood her in good stead, and she was wont to grace her conversation with apt citations from the classical poets and the ancient philosophers. Paulus Diaconus placed in her hands the historical compend of Eutropius, but his gifted and diligent pupil deemed it unsatisfactory both on account of its great brevity and total silence concerning sacred history.

She induced him to enlarge the history and supplement the necessary references to sacred subjects. Paulus performed the work but not independently, for his additions are taken mostly from Orosius, Jerome, Jordanis, and others, and not very skilfully welded together. He extended the narrative of Eutropius from the reign of Valens to Justinian, but never carried out a projected continuation to his own time.¹ It so happened that his brother Arigiso, or Arichis, who was implicated in the Friulian revolt, had been taken prisoner and carried into Francia. Six years after that event, Paul, convinced of the clemency of Charles, addressed, and presented in person, an elegy to him, in which he made intercession for that brother.

Charles accorded to him a friendly reception, and induced him to spend several years in Germany. Paulus bore the reputation of being a very learned man, and men fabled of his proficiency in Greek and Hebrew. It was reported that he taught Greek to the Metz clergy, and Peter of Pisa,

¹ MG. Auct. antiquiss. II., 4 sq.; the court of Arigiso a number of years, probably until 781, when circumstances introduced a change.

Simson, *l. c.* I., 365. Paulus seems to have continued at

on the strength of that report which had reached the king's ears, by his command and in his name, indited a poetic epistle to Paulus, desiring him to instruct the companions of Princess Rothrud, then still affianced to the Emperor Constantine, in Greek. The deacon declined the offer, and his reply shows that his own estimate of himself was much more modest, for he wrote that if the Metz clergy spoke only the Greek they had learned of him, they would, like dumb statues, be the laughing stock of all who heard them.¹

During his stay in Germany, Paul, who was a fair historian, and wrote poetry, composed a history of the bishops of Metz, and took pains, it is thought, to dwell at great length on the family and ancestry of Charles, with the evident design of representing the Carlovingian usurpation as justifiable, and the whole race entitled to the throne by virtue of its saints.² But this is hardly a fair statement of the case, and a gratuitous reflection on his character as a historian.³

While there is no reason to doubt his ultimate loyalty and sincere attachment to Charles, it is nevertheless certain that both were less profound than his strong feelings for the Lombard family. It is said that he never would suffer a word injurious to the memory and character of his former master, the King of the Lombards. The Franks reported the matter to Charles, and in the excess of their loyalty recommended the savage remedy of cutting off his hands, and putting out his eyes.

But Charles would have none of their counsel, and stop-

¹ Bouquet, V., 849; Poet. Lat. I., 48 (Dümmler). Some think that the lines of Peter, written as stated, in the name of Charles, establish the fact that he did instruct the Frankish ecclesiastics designated to accompany the princess to Constantinople. They read as follows:

Haud te latet, quod iubente
Michaele comitante,
ad tenenda sceptræ regni

Hac pro causa Graecam doces
nostros, ut in eius pergant
et Graiorum videantur

Christo nostro filia,
sollers maris spatia
transitura properat.

Clericos grammaticam
manentes obsequio
eruditi regulis.

² Bethmann, in Archiv., X. 303.

³ Bonnell, *Anfänge*, p. 45.

ped the matter saying: "God forbid that I should thus treat so excellent a poet and a historian." Whatever may be the worth of the anecdote, it certainly is alike creditable to the king and the deacon.

Paulus was not a first-class historian. His best work, the History of the Lombards, unfortunately closes with the death of Liutprand (744); had he lived to continue it through his own time, his excellent information and unquestioned veracity would have made it a most valuable contribution to the history of that important and interesting period.¹

At any rate he returned to Italy, and we know that he composed epitaphs for Queen Hildegard and other members of the Frankish family, as well as for Arigiso, duke of Benevento.

A list of his works is given below.² One of them, more especially connected with the history of Charles, is the collection of homilies which he prepared at the king's express request.

As his father, King Pepin, had directed his efforts towards the introduction of the Gregorian chant into the churches of Francia, so it was his desire to supply the want of a good collection of homilies. Those in use were utterly inadequate, and Charles denounced their intolerable and offensive solecisms. He accordingly requested Paulus to supply the deficiency. Paulus, who was then at Monte Casino, associating with himself his monastic father and friend, the abbot Benedict, selected the best homilies he could find among the tracts and sermons of the Fathers, in sufficient number to cover the entire circle of the church year, edited them in two volumes, and presented them to Charles. The

¹ For an estimate of Paulus as a historian, see Wattenbach, *l. c.* I., 160 sqq.

² The works of Paulus Diaconus, now extant, embrace the following: 1. "Eutropius historiographus, et post eum Paulus Diaconus de historiis Italicae provinc. ac Romanor."; 2. "De gestis Langobardorum libri

sex."; 3. "Gesta episcoporum Mettensium."; 4. "Homiliarium." Of his poetry, besides the verses printed by Waitz in Monum. Germ. Hist. Langob. Saec. VI.-IX., p. 12 sq., the hymn for the feast of St. John, "Ut queant laxis," etc., is of special interest in the history of music; see "Guido d'Arezzo" in the cyclopedias.

king having read and approved them, set them forth, accompanied by a remarkable circular letter in which he commended them to the "readers." This Book of Homilies, known as the *Homiliarium*, has often been printed between 1482 and 1569, and translated into German and Spanish.¹

Among those, who, like Einhard, were indebted to Charles and the Palace School for their education, may be named Angilbert; Adalhard and Wala, the king's cousins; Tatto, afterwards master of the monastery school at Reichenau; Walafrid Strabo, his pupil; Grimald,² subsequently abbot of St. Gall; Bernald, a Saxon, who became bishop of Strasburg, and others.³

Other schools in different parts of his empire enjoyed the munificent patronage of Charles. The school at Tours,

¹ Caroli epistola generalis, 786-800? apud Boretius, *Capitul.* p. 80. Compare the Dedication of Paulus in "Poet. Lat. aev. Carol." I., 68, No. 34. An entry in Bernold. Chron. 781. apud MG. SS. V., 418, states that the two volumes were completed in A.D. 808.

The Dedication referred to runs thus:

En iutus patris Benedicti mira patrantis
Auxilio meritisque piis vestrique fidelis
Abbatis dominique mei, etsi iussa nequivi
Explere ut dignum est, tamen, o pietatis amator,
Excipe gratanter, decus et mirabile mundi,
Qualemcumque tui famuli, rex magne, laborem;
Quodque sacro nuper mandasti fame condi, etc.

For notice of a collection of homilies in two volumes by Alcuin see V. alch. 12 (Jaffé VI); Pertz, *Archiv.* IX., 469; Werner, *Alcuin*, p. 38.

² Ne vero oblivisci vel neglegere videar de Albino, hoc vere de industria vel meritis eius agnovi, quod de discipulis eius nullus remansit, qui non abba sanctissimus vel antistes extiterit clarissimus. Apud quem et dominus meus Grimaldus primo in Gallia, post vero in Italia liberalibus est disciplinis imbutus. —Monach. Sangall. I., 9 (Jaffé).

³ Concerning Bernald, Ermoldus Nigellus (Eleg. I., 147 sqq. MG. SS. II., 519) writes:

Quem Carolus, sapiens quondam regnator in orbe,
Doctrina studiis imbuit atque fide,
Saxona hic equidem veniens de gente sagaci.
Sensu atque ingenio nunc bene doctus homo, etc.

Simson *l. c.* II., 572 n. 5 adds the following references: Mommsen's Fragment of his epitaph (*Rhein. Museum für Philologie N. F.*, IX., 1854, p. 309); Erchenbald, Vers. de episc. Argentin. Boehmer Fontt., III., 2.

under the direction of Alcuin, was one of the most celebrated; it sent forth a large number of distinguished men, and almost every man of parts of the next age was a pupil of Alcuin; Wizo, Fridugisus, Adalbert, Rhabanus Maurus, Hatto, Haimonus, and many more are said to have been his disciples.

The Missionary School of Utrecht, which flourished in the time of Gregory, bore an enviable reputation, and was much frequented.

The celebrated Rhabanus (Hrabanus)¹ Maurus taught at Fulda; Smaragdus at St. Mihiel on the Meuse; the schools at Würzburg, Reichenau,² Hirschau, St. Aniane in Aqui-

¹ The successors of Sturmi as abbots of Fulda were: Baugulf (780-803); Ratgar (803-817); Eigil (817-822); Rhabanus (822-842). Of these Rhabanus is the most celebrated. He was a pupil of Alcuin, who called him Maurus after the favorite pupil of St. Benedict. About 804, the year of Alcuin's death, Rhabanus presided already over the school at Fulda, which enjoyed the patronage of the best society throughout the Frankish Empire. The students at Fulda might according to their intended vocation pursue an ecclesiastical or a secular course of studies. Many of course entered the Church, but quite a number followed the secular discipline. Rhabanus was an advanced thinker, and held that the study of the Classics was indispensable to the right understanding of the Scriptures.—Schneider, *Fulda*, p. 4 sqq.; Wattenbach, *l. c.* I., 221; Kunstman, *Hrabanus Magnentius Maurus*, Mainz, 1841.

² Heito, afterwards bishop of Basel, was at the head of the monastery school of Reichenau. Among his pupils was a noble youth, called Erlebold, who ultimately became his successor. Heito, it seems, only taught him the Scriptures, and he acquired the seven liberal arts under the direction of a learned Scot, not improbably Clement.

See a collection of references in Simson, *Jahrb. Ludwigs des Frommen*, II., 256 sqq. (concerning Clement) and Abel-Simson, *l. c.* II., 575 (concerning Erlebold). The following passage is interesting:

Post septem denosque petit venerabilis annos
Insulanense solum: sociatu fratribus illis
Atque magisterio Hettonis contraditur almi.
Quo monstrante, sacris non parva ex parte libellis
Imbuitur, variaque vetant ne traderet artes
Septenas curae, antiqui quas auribus indunt
Nobilium; namque illa refert scriptura Joannis
Ante retroque animalia sancta oculata fuisse.
Sensus adest: sic doctus homo ex ratione biformi
Ante superna videt, retro terrena cavetque
Hac ex parte foret ne clauso lumine caecus.
—Visio Wetini metr. 3. Mabillon A. S. o. s. Ben. IV., 1, p. 260.

taine,¹ St. Wandrille, St. Germain d'Auxerre did noble work. Laidradus, archbishop of Lyons, had excellent "singing schools," and "reading schools;" of the former he wrote to the emperor, that such was the proficiency of the pupils that they had not only mastered the art of chanting the service, and conducted it after the pattern of the imperial chapel at Aix-la-Chapelle, but instructed others; concerning the "reading schools" he reported that the pupils not only read well, and gave evidence of their understanding what they read, but studied the Scriptures and were competent to explain the spiritual sense of the New Testament. This was truly remarkable.

The impetus to education, moreover, was general throughout the Frankish empire. In the diocese of Orleans, Theodulf charged the parochial clergy to found village schools, and provide for the gratuitous instruction of youth, reminding them that "teachers should shine as the brightness of the firmament, and they that turn many to righteousness as the stars forever and ever."²

In a cell or hermitage near St. Wandrille sat the presbyter Harduin, and taught a large number of pupils the arts of writing and arithmetic. He bore a good reputation for morals and learning, and allied to the contemplative habits of the hermit the more practical avocations of a teacher. The history of the cell, consecrated to a famous martyr, and built by the illustrious founder of the neighboring monastery, might stimulate profitable meditation, for St. Wandrille or Wandregesilus, was a remarkable man in his day and generation; he was a near relative of Pepin of Landen, and consequently connected with the ancestry of Charles; an energetic and zealous worker, who in spite of his austerities attained the rare old age of ninety-six. Harduin not only mused upon the virtues of the martyr and the saint, but spent much of his time in useful employment, and like St. Wandrille reached an exceptionally old age; he died, 811, in the abbacy of Trasarus.³

¹ On St. Aniane, and its founder, see Chapter IX., and Index.

² Dan. XII., 3.

³ See note 2, page 267.

At St. Denis, and later at Pavia, Dungal, the Scot, taught astronomy and other branches; in fine, every monastery and cathedral became a centre of intellectual activity, and the enlightened views of Charles are abundantly set forth in circular letters and capitularies still extant.¹

Without going into greater detail it may suffice to say that the intellectual life of the Frankish empire, its culture and influence for ages to come, are due to the intelligence, liberality, patronage, zeal, and enthusiasm of Charles. It is impossible to resist this conclusion, attested by Alcuin, Einhard, Angilbert, Theodulf, Rhabanus Maurus, Hincmar, Nithard, Otfried, and many other illustrious men.

Indeed we ought to say more on this head, at least, in one or two additional observations. As every school, and every church, stood in need of books, their supply gave an impetus to the art of writing and the production of libraries.

Thus the aged Harduin not only taught youth the art of writing in the cell of St. Saturnine, but copied quite a number of books, among them a book of the Gospels in uncial letters, which he bequeathed to the abbey of St. Wandrille.² Willehad, afterwards bishop of Bremen, engaged in the same occupation during his residence at Echternach; Laidradus, archbishop of Lyons, caused many volumes to be copied by monks and others; Angilbert collected at St. Riquier a library of two hundred volumes; Benedict of Aniane displayed a similar activity in the collection of books; and there is no doubt that Charles himself formed a most valuable library, some speak of several libraries, at Aix-la-Chapelle. It would lead too far to mention by name the magnificent specimens of the calligraphy of the Caroline age extant, but they are a feast to the eyes of all lovers of the beautiful, and standing monuments to the intelligence of Charles.³

¹ Epistola generalis, 780-800; "De litteris colendis," Capp. reg. Franc. I., 1, p. 79; see also Boretius, *l. c.* p. 78.—See on the most important schools of the period, Monnier, *Alcuin et Charlemagne*, p. 79; Werner, *Alcuin* p. 37.

² Gesta abb. Fontanell., c. 16, MG. SS., II., 202.

³ See on this subject: Wattenbach,

Before passing on to other topics, the interest he took in astronomical subjects may detain us a little longer. He spent much time in the study, and corresponded on it with Alcuin;¹ he acquired the art of the computation of Easter,² and there is evidence that astronomy was much cultivated at the Court.

Two solar eclipses, one on the 5th of July, and the other on November 30th, 810, occasioned direct inquiries made of Dungal, then at St. Denis.³ The nature of the observations, and the manner of their record, indicating the state of astronomical science, will appear from the following notice for one year beginning September 1st, 806:

"On the 4th nones of September occurred an eclipse of the moon; the sun stood in the sixteenth degree of the sign of Virgo, the moon in the sixteenth degree of Pisces.

"This year on the day before the kalends of February, the moon being seventeen days old, the planet Jupiter seemed to make the transit of the moon.

"On the 3d ides of February, about noon, an eclipse of the sun took place; the two stars stood in the twenty-fifth degree of Aquarius.

"Again, on the 4th kalends of March there was an eclipse of the moon, and that same night many meteors of astounding magnitude were seen; the sun standing at the time in the eleventh degree of Pisces, the moon in the eleventh degree of Virgo.

"On the 16th kalends of April, the planet Mercury appeared on the sun like a small black spot, and it was observed for the space of eight days slightly above the centre of that star; but clouds prevented our noting the exact time both of its entrance of the sun's disc and of its exit.

"In the month of August also, on the 11th kalends of September, occurred an eclipse of the moon in the third

Das Schriftwesen im Mittelalter, 2 ed., p. 111; and Mabillon, A. S., s. B. ed. Ven. IV., 1, p. 110, on the Evangelium with letters of gold, illuminations in silver, and precious stones.

¹ See Appendix D.

² Vita Alch., 6, Jaffé, VI., 17.

³ Epist. Carol., 30, Jaffé, IV., 396 sqq.

hour of the night, the sun standing in the fifth degree of Virgo, the moon in the fifth degree of Pisces.

"Thus from the month of September of the last year to the month of September of the present year, the moon was obscured three times, and the sun once."¹

In a former paragraph the breadth, and vast range of the king's interest in every conceivable variety of subjects were mentioned; in this we may furnish some illustrations.

He noticed the inconvenience arising from the deficient method then in vogue of designating the quarters of the heavens by the four cardinal points only, and forthwith applied himself to the device of a scheme for defining the regions with greater accuracy, and upon its completion, gave the names and the bearings he had gained to the winds.²

His partiality for German, his mother-tongue, was remarkable; it grieved him to think that the vast capabilities of that noble language should lie fallow or droop into decay. With that feeling, Charles encouraged its study, recommended its use in preaching and reading, in the collection of songs, poems, and laws, and with a view to freeing it from foreign and barbarous admixtures, and elevating it to the rank of the dead languages, especially Latin, began to compose a German grammar. For throughout his reign Latin reigned supreme in the realm of letters; everything was written in Latin: the Scriptures, laws, epistles, poems, and even history; for instance, all the authorities of contemporary origin pertaining to his reign are *written* in Latin, although Latin had long ceased to be spoken.

He also invented a set of German names of the months instead of the Latin and barbarous designations in use.

The Latin names, however, could not be displaced, and his list, though ingenious, and in some of the names poetical, was never adopted. It possesses, nevertheless, a philological interest as showing what passed for good German in his day.³

The medical profession also was represented at the court

¹ Annal. Einh., a. 807.

² See Appendix, E.

³ See Appendix, F.

of Charles, but its representatives appear to have been sadly deficient in knowledge. As a class they were known as the "Sect of Hippocrates," and even the inventive genius of Alcuin could say nothing better of them than that they bled their patients, compounded mixtures of herbs, and boiled poultices.

It seems that they practised medicine in connection with other avocations; perhaps they were monks or clerics otherwise provided for in the matter of support, or he would not have recommended the gratuitous dispensation of their art in order that the blessing of Christ might rest upon the labor of their hands.¹

One of these physicians, the king's physician in ordinary, was a friend of Alcuin's; his name was Winthari. The aged and infirm Sturmi, abbot of Fulda, being about to travel from the Eresburg to his monastery, was placed by royal command in charge of the said Winthari, in the expectation that the arrangement would minister to his comfort and possibly lead to his recovery. The nature of his ailing is not known, but Eigil, the biographer of Sturmi, narrates as follows: "On a certain day the doctor made him take I know not what potion of his art, thinking it would lessen the pain, and improve the condition of the patient. But it had the opposite effect; he grew worse and worse, and the most alarming symptoms of the disease appeared in the most aggravated form. The poor abbot said full of anxiety, that the physician, who ought to have lessened the malady, had inflicted a worse evil."² Sturmi protested, but in vain, his case was beyond the skill of the royal physician in ordinary, for he soon died.

¹ Accurrunt medici mox, Hippocratica secta:
Hic venas fundit, herbas hic miscet in olla,
Ille coquit pultes, alter sed pocula praeferit.
Et tamen, o medici, cunctis impendite gratis,
Ut manibus vestris adsit benedictio Christi.

Alc. Carm. 26. vv. 12-16.

² Vita Sturmii, MG. SS II., 377. Alcuin called him simply "Winter" (Uinter); he mentions his name in connection with a promised present of choice wine.—Alc. ep. 16 (Jaffé, VI., 171).

Charles had a very indifferent opinion of the medical profession and made light of their advice. Being generally in robust health himself, and watching their experience in the case of others, he conceived the notion that he could prescribe for himself far better than they were able. He was in the habit of confiding in the healing power of nature, and considered plentiful physical exercise, together with temperance and an occasional fast, the medicine best suited to his constitution. Sometimes he consulted the medical poem of Serenus Sammonicus and followed his advice.¹

But as a rule he preferred his own inclinations to medical directions, and in the last years of his life, almost hated physicians, "because they wanted him to give up roasts, to which he was accustomed, and eat boiled meat instead."²

The king encouraged to an uncommon degree the introduction and development of art, especially in connection with architecture. Palaces on a grand and imperial scale rose at Nimeguen,³ Ingelheim, and Aix-la-Chapelle, but the grandest of his architectural undertakings were churches, not palaces.

The most beautiful of these was the basilica at Aix-la-Chapelle, erected in honor of the Virgin Mary, built throughout in the most massive style, of cut stone and exquisite symmetry, and, in the opinion of competent critics equal, if not superior, to the best and most ancient specimens then extant.

He summoned the most skilful workmen from every part

¹ Teuffel, *Gesch. der römischen Literatur*, ed. 4, p. 877 sqq. Compare on the medical profession in the next reign, Simson, *Jahrb. unter Ludw. d. Frommen*, II., 255, No. 4.

² Vita Caroli, c. 22.

³ Vita Caroli, c. 17: Erm. Nigell. III., 583 sqq.; IV., 179 sqq.; Poeta Saxo, V., 429 sq. The last named author says of Ingelheim:

Ingylemhem dictus locus est, ubi condidit aulam,
Aetas cui vidit nostra parem minime.
Quorum multiplicem si quis describere laudem
Curabit, longum texet opus nimium.

The best and fullest description of this palace, and the church at Ingelheim, is that of Ermold. Nigell. *l. c.*

of Europe, and imported the choicest columns, marbles, and mosaics from Rome and Ravenna.¹ The mosaics were used in the ornamentation of the walls and pavements. This splendid cathedral, adorned with gold and silver, superb candelabra, railings and doors of solid brass, and admired as a masterpiece of the age, is said, but on doubtful authority, to have been consecrated by Leo III.

Master Odo of Metz was the architect of this celebrated cathedral; the roof was covered with tiles of lead, and ornamented with a golden apple on the dome.

Two entertaining, but unsubstantiated, anecdotes relate to this period. Charles, says the Monk of St. Gall, set the most skilful of all his architects over the workmen employed in the building of the cathedral. He was an abbot, but that did not prevent his being a sharper. "The moment the emperor left home, the overseer undertook upon his own authority to discharge a number of the mechanics for the sole purpose of extorting from them bribes for their reappointment. As for those who were unable to pay the bribe, or for whom their masters refused to pay, they were in sore plight, for the abbot, after the example of the Egyptian overseers, laid grievous burdens upon them, and never gave them a moment's rest.

"By such nefarious means he accumulated a large fortune in silver and gold, and silk garments. He showed only the least valuable of his treasures openly in his room, but carefully concealed the most precious of them in chests and closets. One day he heard that his house was on fire; he

¹ The use, for the purpose named, of those at Ravenna, was granted by Hadrian, as appears from his epistle to Charles:

Praefulgidos atque nectareos regalis potentiae vestrae per Aruinum ducem suscepimus apices. In quibus referebatur, quod palatii Ravennate civitatis mosivo atque marmores ceterisque exemplis tam in strato quamque in parietibus sitis vobis tribuisse-

mus. Nos quippe libenti animo et puro corde cum nimio amore vestre excellentiae tribuimus effectum et tam marmores quamque mosivo ceterisque exemplis de eodem palatio vobis concedimus abstollendum.—Cod. Carol. 89 (Jaffé, IV., 268). The alleged use of marbles and mosaics from Trèves (Gesta Trever. 25, MG. SS. VIII., 163) and Verdun (MG. SS. VIII., 352) is legendary.

ran home and rushing through the flames made his way to the room in which his gold lay secreted; eager to save as much as possible, he was not content with removing one chest at a time, but placed several boxes on his shoulders, and was on the point of leaving the burning chamber, when suddenly a huge beam, undermined by the flames, gave way, and falling on him, delivered his body to the tongue of terrestrial fire, but his soul to the unquenchable flames of hell. Thus did divine justice protect the cause and interest of Charles, when by reason of other and more important matters of his empire, he could not be present in person."

Such is the pious reflection of the chatty monk, who continues that "on these selfsame works was employed a singularly expert artificer in metal and glass. Tanchon, a monk of St. Gall, having cast a very fine bell of sweet tone, which greatly delighted the emperor's ear, the aforesaid skilful artificer said to him: 'May it please Your Majesty to command copper in large quantities to be delivered to me, and in order to make it absolutely pure in the casting, to direct that in place of tin, as is usual, the necessary weight of silver be placed at my disposal, not less than a hundred weight; let this be done, and I will make you a bell within the hearing whereof that of Tanchon shall seem dumb!'"

The speech pleased the emperor, who, "though immensely rich," did not set his heart on his riches, and commanded that the man should have all the precious metal and the copper he had asked for. The wretch, however, immediately after receiving it, went his way rejoicing, and purified the copper as well as he knew how to do it, not with silver but with tin thoroughly refined; nevertheless even of this debased metal he contrived to produce a bell which was in all respects superior to the first; it was tested, and in due course presented to the emperor. He much admired the elegance of its shape, ordered the clapper to be attached, and the bell to be raised to the belfry.

"And so it was done forthwith, even as he commanded."

The bell, it seems, though hoisted to its proper place, and made fast by proper rule, was unmanageable. The guardian of the church, the chaplains of the imperial establishment, the most able and skilful mechanics, in turn tried to ring the bell, but tried in vain. "At last, the maker, even the same who had cast it, and been guilty of such unparalleled knavery, grasped the rope, and pulled the bell; suddenly the iron cross-piece to which it was fastened gave way and fell upon his head already weighted with so much iniquity; it went clean through his body and killed him outright. It was an appalling spectacle;" it was the judgment of heaven; "all the silver was found, which the most just Charles distributed among the poorest of the palace servants."¹

Of the alleged prodigies connected with this church we shall speak on a subsequent page, but note here the partial denudation of the roof in an earthquake which shook Aix-la-Chapelle in the year 829.

A portion of it remaining in the present cathedral is improperly called "the nave." It is an "octagon in the style of S. Vitale at Ravenna, fifty feet in diameter, surrounded by a sixteen-sided gallery, and terminates in a cupola [which in the words of the Saxon poet 'climbs to the stars']. It is one of the most remarkable monuments of early Christian architecture, but unfortunately marred by modern disfigurements." The marble and granite columns, and the gates of the archways of the upper gallery date from the time of Charles.

"As long as his health allowed he was a daily worshipper at this church, going morning and evening, even after night-fall, besides attending mass; and he took care that all the services there conducted should be administered with the utmost propriety, very often warning the sextons not to let any improper or unclean thing be brought into the building, or remain in it. He provided it with numerous sacred vessels of gold and silver, and ecclesiastical vestments in great abundance, so that not even the door-keepers, who fill the

¹ Monach. Sangall. I., 30, 31; Bouquet, V., 118 sq.

humblest office in the church, were obliged to wear their ordinary clothes when in the exercise of their duties. He was at great pains to improve the church reading and psalmody, for he was well skilled in both, although he neither read in public nor sang, except in a low voice, and with others."¹

The basilica was connected by a porticus with the royal palace, which among other peculiarities riveted attention by a bronze eagle with outspread wings which crowned the pinnacle, and the magnificent equestrian statue of Theoderic, which also came from Ravenna. It impressed Charles more than any other similar work of art he had ever seen. It was of colossal dimensions, and represented a snorting charger, the nostrils distended, and the opened mouth showing a terrible set of teeth. The spirited figure of the rider displayed a shield protecting the left shoulder, and holding a lance in the act of hurling in the uplifted right hand. The birds of the air chose the body of the horse for their nests, and flew in and out by the nostrils and the mouth.

The statue, it is said, was in the first instance set up in honor of the Emperor Zeno, and Theoderic only placed his name on it.²

The Rhine-bridge at Mayence was one of the most remarkable public works erected by Charles. Though only a wooden structure, it was of prodigious strength throughout its entire length of five hundred paces, and seemed as if it must last forever. This fine bridge, which associated his name with Cæsar's, had been ten years building, and constructed with admirable skill, was so completely destroyed by fire in the space of three hours that not a splinter of it was left except what was under water.³ It must have been a marvel for strength; the Saxon poet states at the close of the ninth century that the piers of stone and earth re-

¹ Vita Caroli, cc. 26, 27; Franc. Petrarca, I., ep. 3; Petrus à Beek, *Aquisgrano*, c. IV., Cod. Carol. ep. 77 (Jaffé); Bädeler, *Northern Germany*, p. 5.—Also, Vita Caroli., c. 32; Annal. Einh., a. 829.—Vita Hlud. 43.

² Agnelli, *Lib. pontif. Raven.* c. 94; cf. Vita Caroli, c. 26; and Cod. Carolin., 89 (Jaffé).

³ Vita Caroli, c. 32.

mained visible as monumental ruins of its former splendor; nine hundred years later the submerged portions of the wooden buttresses had not yet disappeared (in 1881); but stranger still, this is contradicted, the intimation being, that the ancient oaken buttresses are not remnants of the bridge of Charles which was burned in 813, but of the Roman bridge built probably before the Christian era!¹

The accidental character of the fire, however, has been disputed; but the explanations offered instead are far from convincing. One says, that it was either the work of robbers who came at night in quest of discharged merchandise lying on the bridge, or of incendiaries desirous of building up a profitable ferry business. Others pretend that Richulf, archbishop of Mayence, ordered the bridge to be set on fire as the best method of stopping the highway robberies enacted on the bridge, and often attended by the murder of luckless passengers and their disappearance in the river. This is incredible, for such an act on the part of the archbishop would necessarily imply the express approbation of his imperial master; the loss of the bridge, moreover, was regarded as a national disaster of ominous significance, and it is known that Charles entertained the idea of replacing it by one in stone.²

His death prevented the execution of his purpose, and the Saxon poet describing the ruins, about the close of the century, breaks forth in lamentation, and predicts with gloomy forebodings that the work would never be performed.³

This prophecy proved true for nearly a millennium, for the first stone bridge over the Rhine at Mayence was not erected until 1862.

In the same connection deserves to be mentioned the grandiose scheme of a system of canalization designed primarily to establish a water-way from the Rhine to the Danube, and ultimately, from the North Sea to the Euxine.

¹ Dümmler, *Allg. D. Biogr.*, XV., Scot. Chron. a. 835; Annal. Wirz., 147; Simson, *l. c.*, II., 512.

² Monach. Sangall., I., 30, Marian.

a. 813; Disibodenberg, a. 813.

³ Poeta Saxo, V., 601 sq.

It came up during the war with the Avars, as a feasible plan for the transportation of armies by water from and to the seat of war. The military advisers of Charles represented that troops, material of war, and especially pontoon-bridges, which until then had to be carried in sections overland, might, by means of a short canal connecting two given points, be conveyed from the heart of Francia, and at a vast saving in time and expenditure, to any locality in the enemy's country suitable for military operations.¹

The projected canal contemplated the connection of the Altmühl and the Rednitz, or more accurately, of the Suabian Rezat, a tributary of the latter. The scheme pleased Charles, and he commanded the work to be undertaken at once. A large force of men was detailed for its execution, and such was his interest that he proceeded in person, accompanied by the entire court, to the designated spot. The royal party sailed up the Danube and the Altmühl and disembarked at Sualafeld,² one of the termini. There was no lack of energy in the prosecution of the work, and the personal presence of Charles animated and encouraged all engaged in it. It was vigorously pushed forward throughout the autumn, and the workmen began to make the necessary excavations for the distance of two thousand steps at the width of three hundred feet; the data of the depth are not known.

But in spite of the most unremitting zeal and perseverance, the enterprise made no headway, and the bright prophecy of its easy and speedy accomplishment was falsified by the event. It was a grand and total failure.

Canal-building was one of the things which neither Charles nor his engineers understood. It is doubtful if the survey rested on accurate data touching the water-level of the respective rivers, and if the objective points were practicable; at any rate the skill of the engineers was not equal to the local difficulties of the line they selected. It ran through

¹ Annal. Lauresh., Guelf., Einh. *al.* not agree with the names given by

² Annal. Guelf. The locality does later writers.

a low and swampy region, and the naturally soft character of the soil was aggravated by continuous rain.

The greatest obstacle they encountered was found in a section called the "Ried,"¹ where a quicksand baffled their efforts. The shifting and slippery nature of the spot forbade all progress; the superstitious workmen said that the devil was in it; that the place was bewitched and under the spell of fiends more potent than the labor of thousands of Christian hands; it had an invisible, unfathomable, omnivorous maw which devoured during the night the multitudinous loads of mud which the workmen dug out during the day.²

It was an unholy and evil enterprise, thought or muttered the monks; nor stopped at the thought and the speech, but set it down in writing, for we read in the Annals, drawn up in the neighboring archiepiscopal establishment at Salzburg, that "it was an idle work. But prudence and counsel cannot prevail against the Lord." This was evident by the result, for "afterwards might be heard every night the hurly-burly din of hideous noises, roaring defiance, and exulting in the laughter of derision."³

The record does not say if the nocturnal din and the ominous voices troubled Charles; but he ordered the work to be stopped.

Archæologists indicate Bubenheim on the Altmühl as the initial point of the "ditch," a place called "Graben" (*i. e.*, ditch), as a station, and "Weissenburg" on the Rezat, as its extreme terminus. Traces of the "Karlsgraben" (*i. e.*, the ditch of Charles) remain there to this day.⁴

By a strange coincidence this undertaking, like that of the permanent bridge at Mayence, remained unexecuted until the present century. The scheme, which so greatly interested Charles, was taken up more than a thousand years later by Louis I., King of Bavaria, and pushed to a successful

¹ Eckhart, *Franc. Orient.*, II., 750; he gives a diagram.

² Annal. Einh. a. 793; Mosell. 792; Lauresh.

³ Annal. Salisb., MG. SS. XIII., 23.

⁴ Auctarium Ekkehardi Altahense, 792, MG. SS. XVII., 362. Riezler, *l. c.* I., 181, no. 1.

termination. The canal, called after him the "König Ludwig Kanal," connects the river systems of the Danube and the Rhine by a different and much longer line. Its length of twenty-three German miles, however, bears no proportion to its width and depth, which are unfortunately inadequate to the requirements of a remunerative navigation, and a successful competition with the railroads.

In these respects it is an absolute failure.¹

¹ Daniels, *l. c.* I., 233; Heigel, *Ludwig I., König von Bayern*, p. 170 sq.—Riezler, *l. c.* I., 181.

CHAPTER XI.

BOHEMIAN WAR.—THE ROYAL SONS AND THEIR KINGDOMS.—EXTRANEA.

Conquest of Bohemia.—Affairs of Aquitaine and Spain.—Adalric.—Saracen invasion.—Incident of Datus.—Poverty of Louis.—Domanial lands and villas.—Diplomatic intercourse with the Saracens.—Mission of Theodulf and Laidradus.—Theodulf on bribery.—Louis meets his father at Tours.—Alleged prediction of his succession in the imperial throne.—Affairs in Pepin's kingdom.—The Beneventans.—Defeat of the Byzantines.—Death of Adelchis.—Revolt of the Bretons.—Piracies.—Anecdote.

805] THE cause of the Bohemian war is obscure. It occurs in point of time as a sequel to the subjugation of the Avars. The Bohemians were bellicose, irritated the Franks, and roused the martial ire of Charles;¹ they took advantage of the misfortunes of their neighbors, the Avars, and so vexed them with perpetual inroads of their territory, that they had to leave it and seek a new home in a more remote region. But as the Avars were now the friends, allies, and subjects of the emperor, and their former territory had become his by the right of conquest, its wanton invasion by the Bohemians was construed as a *casus belli*, and an insult that could not remain unpunished.

This explanation is offered at its worth; it is only a conjecture proceeding on the hypothesis that the Sclavonians of Bohemia, and the Southern Sclavonians were equally inimical to the Franks, and naturally opposed to their policy of conquest.

But it is not improbable that the war was unprovoked and purely aggressive.

Accordingly the heerbann was called out, and a large

¹ Poeta Saxo, l. v., 164 sqq.

army ordered to invade and conquer Bohemia. The Frankish hosts moved in three columns, while a fourth sailed up the Elbe to Magdeburg and devastated the region of Genewana.¹ The first of the three columns, commanded by the young "king" Charles, advanced through Franconia and the Bohemian Forest; the second, composed of Alemannian, Suabian, and Bavarian troops, and commanded by the generals Audulf and Werinarius, approached the hostile country from Bavaria; the third, commanders unknown, moved through Saxony, and after collecting the Saxon and Wendish contingents, proceeded to Werinofelde beyond the Saale, entered the country of the Demelcians with the ultimate destination of reaching Bohemia through the passes of the Ore Mountains. In other words, the plan provided for the simultaneous invasion of Bohemia by the only three practical routes from the north, the south and west.

The third column met and defeated Semela, prince of the Demelcians, took his two sons as hostages, pushed through the Ore Mountains to the champaign country on the Eger, and at that point effected a junction with the two other columns. There the young king held a muster of the entire host, and received the homage of the Sclavonian vassals of the Frankish crown. The three divisions went into camp, and from that base overran the whole country. The Bohemians avoided an engagement, and retreating before the overwhelming number of the Franks, withdrew to the depth of inaccessible and pathless forests.

Beyond the meagre notice that the invading army laid siege to Canburg, an unidentified fortress,² the annals, without exception, record not a single warlike achievement; even the result of the siege is unknown. They state, however, that for the space of forty days the immense army, under the lead of Charles and his generals, engaged in the work of savage and relentless devastation. The whole country was "depopulated," and so universal was the indis-

¹ Chron. Moiss.

while Palacky and others name Kaden

² Eckhart suggests Camburg on the Saale, Pertz conjectures Kammerburg, on the Eger.

criminate destruction of whatever could be set on fire, that the entire region was "reduced to nothing." One of the Czech *lech*os, or princes, also was put to death.

Having converted Bohemia into a wilderness, so that neither man nor beast could find food, the king ordered the home march. The columns retraced their steps to the "marches," and dispersed to their homes; their royal leader returned "victoriously, prosperously, and with great joy" to his father in Francia; and thus was conducted, and thus gloriously ended, the first Bohemian campaign.¹

806] The annihilation of the Bohemians, however, was only a figure of speech, for the younger Charles left plenty of work to be performed by a new army of Bavarians, Alemannians, and Burgundians in a second campaign, which again destroyed the greater part of the unhappy country already "reduced to nothing." Beyond this the operations of the army appear to have been rather passive than active, for the ominous sentence in the official annals that the host "returned without serious calamity," seems to justify the inference of a Bohemian historian that the natives showed sufficient vitality for inflicting some loss, and compelling the invaders to beat an inglorious retreat.²

"King" Charles, at the same time, scored a great victory over the Sorabians, who occupied the country between the Saale and the Elbe, and bordered upon the Czechs, Eastphalians, and Thuringians. After mustering the troops at Waladala in Thuringia,³ and detailing a number of *scaræ* for service beyond the Elbe, he crossed the Saale. The *scaræ* ravaged the entire district with fire and sword, and the king seems to have encountered the enemy at Werinofelde, and slain in battle Milito, a proud Sorabian prince. His death decided the fate of the country. Charles retraced his steps to the Elbe, and marked his progress with the cus-

¹ Annal. Einh., cf. Guelf., S. Amandi; Chron. Moiss.; Vita Caroli, c. 14; Poeta Saxo, IV., 164; Brandl, *Glossarium*, 121; Palacky, *Geschichte von Böhmen*, I., 101; No. 55.

² Annal. Einh., Max; Palacky, *l. c.*, I., 102; No. 59.

³ The situation of Waladala is uncertain, but it lay west of the Elbe and the Saale. Simson, *l. c.* II., 356, n. 1.

tomary devastation of the open country, and the destruction of the cities. The terror of his warfare broke the resistance of the enemy; the remaining Sorabian princes laid down their arms, and gave hostages. Their conqueror, moreover, took additional security for their future loyalty in the immediate erection of two fortresses, one on the Elbe opposite to Magdeburg, and another, on the Saale, near Halle, serving the double purpose of giving him the free passage of both rivers, and of defending the country against hostile incursions from beyond.

It is not known who built them, the Sorabians, or the Franks; but the fact of their erection is established beyond all doubt, and the victorious king might carry the glad tidings of the subjugation of the Sorabians to his imperial father.¹

Having narrated the military exploits of King Charles to this point, we take up the course of events in the kingdoms of his brothers, beginning with the affairs of Aquitaine, and the Spanish peninsula.

The administration of Aquitaine, under the nominal rule of King Louis, was virtually directed by his father. He drew up the necessary instructions for the conduct of the public business and committed their execution to the hands of judicious counsellors, who under the style of *baili*, or guardians, directed the actions of the king, discharged the functions of local governors, and were responsible to Charles. At stated intervals, moreover, he sent special commissioners, or *missi*, clothed with full executive powers, and instructed to investigate the conduct of the local officers, inquire into the general condition of the province, and correct abuses; he was also wont to summon the guardians and the nominal king to his presence, take personal cognizance of administrative and executive matters, and adjudicate upon them in the last instance. This method seems to have been followed, in the main, throughout the entire period of his long reign, and was doubtless matter of absolute necessity.

¹ Annal. Maxim., Einh., Chron. Moiss., a. 806.

The kingdom of Aquitaine embraced Vasconia, Septimania, Aquitaine proper (that is, the country between the Garonne and the Loire), and the county, subsequently the duchy of Toulouse.

Nominally a kingdom, Aquitaine was in reality a province, entirely dependent on the central and personal government of Charles. The law of the country was almost wholly Roman, and the provincial diets were held rather for form and show than for purposes of legislation. The king, it is true, had a court and maintained a kind of royal estate; he occasionally received ambassadors; he had also an executive department and a treasury; but the whole work of his officers, though transacted in his name, was like the government of the province, secondary and delegated. The nominal designations of king, and kingdom, might gratify the feelings of the Aquitanians, but it was a scheme contrived for holding them in a state of absolute dependence and subordination. The regal functions of Louis were very circumscribed, although he executed, but doubtless under well-defined restrictions, and instructions from his father, certain official documents, some of which are still of record.¹

An illustrative case of the early period of the nominal reign of the juvenile king is that of the archbishop Daniel of Narbonne which came up in 782. The archbishop having made the pilgrimage of the Holy Land, had appointed a certain Arluin curator of his diocese. During his absence Count Milo of Narbonne took advantage of the situation by appropriating to his own use sundry possessions of certain churches of that city, and doubtless by false statements prevailed with Charles in confirming them to him as fiefs.

Arluin, in the name and interest of the absent archbishop, brought suit against Milo before the royal commissioners, empowered to hold court. Milo appealed to the royal grant, but failed to prove his title to the sequestered possessions. Arluin, on the other hand, produced witnesses who testified under oath that they belonged to Daniel.

¹ Mühlbacher, *l. c.* Nos. 497-500.

The Court accordingly confirmed them to Daniel and compelled Milo to make restitution. The members of the Court are expressly described as acting under power from Charles, and as his plenipotentiaries, and the case shows that all matters of importance were referred to him for decision.¹

To the same period belongs the establishment of the monastery of Aniane by Benedict. A scion of the Gothic family of the counts of Magdalona, he bore originally the Gothic name of Vitiza. He entered the Court School and spent his youth successively in the service of Pepin and Charles, as cup-bearer at the Court, and as a soldier on their military expeditions.

Against the wishes both of his father and of his royal master, he forsook the world, and in 774 became a monk in the monastery of St. Seine, in the diocese of Langres. "He spent two years and a half in wonderful abstinence, treating his body as a furious wild beast, to which he would show no other mercy than barely not to kill it. . . . He strove to make himself contemptible by all manner of humiliations, and received all insults with joy, so perfectly was he dead to himself. . . . Not content to fulfil the rule of St. Benedict in its full rigor, he practised all the severest observances, prescribed by the rules of St. Pachomius and St. Basil. Being made cellarist, he was very solicitous to provide for others whatever St. Benedict's rule allowed, and had a particular care of the poor and of the guests."

His brethren, upon the abbot's death, would fain have chosen him his successor, but being unwilling to accept the charge on account of their known aversion to reformation, he left St. Seine, and, accompanied by the blind monk Widmar, went to his paternal possessions in Languedoc, and on the brook Aniane, not far from the river Erau (*Arauris*) and near a chapel of St. Saturninus, built a small cell or hermitage.

He lived there for several years in great poverty with others who joined him. "They earned their living by labor,

¹ *Histoire générale de Languedoc*, I., 24 sq. Waitz, IV., 2 ed. p. 410, No. 4.—Simson, *l. c.* I., 438.

and subsisted on bread and water, except on Sundays . . . when they added a little wine and milk, when it was given to them in alms. Benedict did not exempt himself from the work of the others, but besides doing the same work copied good books." The number of his disciples increasing, he quitted the valley, and built a monastery in a more spacious place in that neighborhood.

The new edifice was ready in 792. "He showed his love of poverty by its rigorous practice; for he long used wooden, and afterward glass or pewter chalices at the altar; and if any presents of silk ornaments were made him, he gave them to other churches." On this subject, however, he changed his mind, for after a while "he built a cloister, and a stately church adorned with marble pillars, furnished it with silver chalices and rich ornaments, and bought a great number of books."

He soon had three hundred cenobites under his direction, and also exercised a general inspection over all the monasteries of Provence, Languedoc, and Vasconia; in fact, over the whole of Aquitaine, requiring, with great firmness, that all should submit to the Rule. Benedict, as might be expected, had plenty of enemies, clerical and otherwise; they charged him with malversation in office and even succeeded in influencing the mind of Charles against him. But Benedict, conscious of his rectitude, sought the imperial presence, justified himself, and Charles, in token of his affection and good-will, kissed him, and with his own hand gave the cup to his whilom cupbearer.

Benedict took a prominent part in the controversy with Elipandus and Felix, and in the next reign rose to the highest favor and honor. He died in the monastery of Inde, near Aix-la-Chapelle, in 821.

The monastery of Aniane was completed in 792; and its abbot, probably the most influential man in Aquitaine, stood in near personal relations to King Louis, yet the charter of the monastery, bearing date July 27 of the said year, is issued not in the name of the King of Aquitaine but in that of Charles. It recites that he accords his protection to the

monastery of Aniane in the canton of Maguelonne, erected by the abbot Benedict on his own property, and by him personally surrendered to the king, together with immunity from secular and ecclesiastical control, and the free choice of its abbot.¹

We have in the course of this history met with Louis as an infant entering his dominions on horseback, as a child enlivening the Frankish camp in the Saxon country, on the verge of adolescence receiving the insignia of a warrior at Ratisbon, accompanying his father on the great expedition against the Avars to the occupation of the fortress on the Cumeoberg, and returning to Queen Fastrada, probably as bearer of the victorious tidings.

The unsatisfactory character of the administration of the kingdom of Aquitaine appears from the rebellious conduct of Adalric, the Vasconian, who after forming an alliance with the Arab walis, or governors of the Spanish Marche, surprised, defeated, and took prisoner Chorso, duke of Toulouse; though a Frankish vassal himself, he refused to liberate the captive Chorso, also a Frankish vassal, except upon his swearing fealty to himself. The guardians of Louis committed the radical error of negotiating with the haughty rebel instead of forthwith punishing him. They summoned him to appear at an Aquitanian Diet, held at a **789** place called "The Death of the Goths" (*Mors Gothorum*), which he refused to attend until hostages were given him for his personal safety. Then he came, but such was the craven incapacity of the local governors that they could only effect an exchange of prisoners and prevent civil war by rich presents, with which they purchased his obedience.² Their action was sternly disapproved by Charles; he commanded Louis, Chorso, and the rebel Adalric to appear before him at a Diet convened at Worms,³ and his orders

¹ Mühlbacher, *l. c.* No. 309.—Vita Benedicti Anian. apud Mabillon, A. S. o. s. Bened. ed. Venet. IV., 185 sqq. 187 sqq.—Butler, *Lives of the Saints*, I., 235 sqq.

² Vita Hlud., c. 5.

³ Vita Hlud., cc. 5, 6; Annal. Moissell. a. 789; Chron. Moiss.

were heeded. The refractory Adalric was arraigned before the Diet and required to clear himself of the crimes with which he stood charged; he tried but failed, and was condemned to perpetual banishment. Chorso also was indicted for incompetence and cowardice, and deprived of his duchy, because he had consented to the will of Adalric and brought such great dishonor on the king and on the Franks.¹ His place was given to a valiant Frank, the famous Wilhelmus, the son of Theoderic and Aldana, a daughter of Charles Martel.²

We shall meet Wilhelmus again, but add here some particulars, which though pertaining to a later period, yet on account of their connection with Benedict of Aniane, seem most appropriate in this place. Wilhelmus, like many other illustrious men of the Middle Ages, in course of time exchanged the burden of high station and the distractions of secular pursuits for monastic retirement, and in 804 founded the monastery of Gellone, situated in the valley of that name, a league distant from Aniane. Two years later, with the consent of his wife, who also renounced the world, and the approbation of Charles, reluctantly obtained, he withdrew to his own monastery which after him was called *St. Guillelm*, or *St. Guillaume du Désert*. He received the habit at the hands of the abbot Benedict of Aniane, "was directed by him in the exercises of a religious life and sanctified himself, with great fervor embracing the most humbling and laborious employment, and practising extraordinary austerities" until his happy death in 812. He was often seen riding on a donkey carrying a flask of wine in his wallet and a cup on his shoulder, to relieve the thirsty monks of Aniane in the harvest-field; it is added that he made himself very useful in the bakery and the kitchen.³ Wilhelmus is often, though inaccurately, described as Duke of Aquitaine.

In this connection it is said that "in those days duchies

¹ Vita Hlud., c. 5.

³ V. Benedicti Anian. l. c. 199;

² Mabillon, *Acta Sanct.* (ed. Venet), Butler, l. c. I., 232.
IV., 1, p. 68.

were not hereditary, but like bailiwicks bestowed or taken for a time; this Wilhelmus found the Vasconians very proud and overbearing at the beginning, like people who are by nature impulsive and easily moved, even because of the Vasconian Adalric, whom the king had banished; but in a little time by good sense and force of arms he made them keep the peace, and so curbed their pride that they did not dare to undertake anything against him."¹

This is an unquestionable exaggeration, for the Vasconians were chronically disloyal.²

The presence of that celebrated paladin was most beneficial to the minor king, who that self-same year presided in the local Diet of Toulouse, and received a Saracen embassy from the wali Abu Taher (*Abu-tor*, *Abutaurus*) and other Arab walis implicated in the late revolt, suing for peace and presenting gifts, which seem to have been the stipulated tribute (*dona regia*). The peace was granted and the tribute accepted, from which it follows that the course of events had not run as smoothly in the peninsula as the language of Alcuin seems to imply. It is known that Gerona surrendered to Charles in 785, but doubtful if the Frankish conquests extended in 790 to three hundred miles of littoral territory.³

At any rate, the Frankish supremacy was by no means established, and the Saracens took advantage of the military enterprises of Charles on the northern and eastern confines of the Frankish dominions, and not only repossessed themselves of the city of Gerona, but invaded the province of Septimania.

The emir Hesham, the son and successor of Abdel-Rhaman, roused the enthusiasm of the Arabs throughout the peninsula by means of the *Algihad*, or proclamation of a holy war against the Christians, substantially of this tenor:

"Praised be God, who has raised the glory of Islam by the sword of the champions of the faith, and promised the

¹ Vita Hlud., c. 5, cf. Ermold Nig.
I., 57, 58.

² Vita Hlud., c. 13, etc.

³ Alc. ep., 14. Vita Hlud. 5.

faithful in His holy book and in terms which may not be misunderstood, His help, and glorious victory.

"This ever-adorable Being has said: 'O ye faithful, if you cleave to God, He will help you and confirm your ways. Consecrate therefore to the Lord your good actions. He only, by His aid, is able to rally your standards.' There is no other God but God. He is One, and there is none to share His glory. Mahommed is His apostle, and His apostle is His beloved friend. Men, hearken unto me! God has been pleased to place you under the guidance of the most noble of His prophets, and blessed you with the gift of faith. He has in store for you in the world to come bliss such as ear never heard, or heart conceived. Show yourselves worthy of such great blessing; it is the greatest proof of His love God could give you.

"Defend the cause of your immortal faith, and be true in the right way. God bids you do so in the holy book He has deigned to provide for your guidance.

"Is it not God who has said: 'O ye faithful, fight the unbelieving nations around you, and show them no mercy'?"

"Come then with the utmost speed to this holy war, and quit you like men! Try to please God. Victory and power are sure to be yours, for the Most High God has said: 'We must needs help the faithful.'"¹

The Arabs heard and shouted for joy, dashed on their fleet horses through the mountain passes, and entered Vasconia, seemingly with the sole purpose of terrifying the **793** Christians; but in the following year their visit was not one of ceremony or state. A hundred thousand Saracens obeyed the command of Abd-el-Malek; part of their number fell upon the Asturias, others, set apart for the conquest of the Frankish dominions, overpowered the lieges of Charles in the Spanish Marche, retook and sacked their cities, and swept with amazing and destructive celerity over the plains of Septimania; they set on fire the suburbs of

¹ Reinaud, *Invasions des Sarracins en France*, p. 101.

Narbonne, and flew onward, like a whirlwind, in the direction of Carcassonne.¹

The whole country trembled at their coming; the valiant count of Toulouse collected as many soldiers as he was able, and though but a handful as compared with the enemy, sallied forth to meet them and dispute their progress.

Near the confluence of the Orbicux and the Aude the Franks and the Saracens met; a most sanguinary battle was fought, known in history as that of Villedaigne, in epic poetry as that of Abiscamp.

The Christians, under the inspiring command of the heroic William, fought with a vigor and determination rarely paralleled or eclipsed, stood their ground unshaken, and allowed themselves to be literally hacked to pieces without budging, so animating was the example of their leader, who used his sword as a mower plies his scythe in cutting grass. Those heroic men stemmed the tide of Saracen invasion, and though most of them were slain, the few left made good their retreat in excellent order. The Saracens scored a dear victory, for one of their "kings," that is, one of their leaders, was among the slain, and deeming discretion the better part of valor, abstained from the pursuit, secured their enormous booty, valued at more than thirty millions of francs, and returned into Spain.²

The emir's share of one-fifth amounted to six millions and a half of francs, the whole of which he set apart to the completion of the splendid mosque at Cordova which had been commenced by his father. Tradition says that this devout Mohammedan, not content with the glory of building a mosque with Christian money, cherished the strange conceit that it should stand on Christian "soil," and for that purpose caused sacks filled with earth from the battle-field of Villedaigne to be carried on the shoulders of his Christian prisoners of war to Cordova, and the foundations of the monumental pile to be laid in that earth.³ If the statement

¹ Chron. Moiss., Vita S. Willelmi, apud Mabillon, A. S. I. c. p. 70; Erm. Nigell. I., 211 sqq.—Annal. Alam.,
² Chron. Moiss., Annal. Alam., Lauresh., Enh. Fuld., Sithiens., Einh.
³ Chron. Moiss., Annal. Einh., Ala-Einh., al.

is true, the fate of that mosque points the lesson of the instability of things below, for the mosque is now the cathedral of Cordova.

The incident, historic or legendary, of Datus, which doubtless belongs to the Saracen invasion, illustrates the spirit of the age. He lived with his mother on the paternal homestead in the Rouergue, when the miscreants burst into the land; not expecting them to come so far, he hastened forth to dispute their progress; but during his absence a band of raiders found their way to his native country, laid it waste, plundered his home and dragged his mother into captivity. He heard that the marauders were still within reach, and sped with a number of his friends to the castle in which they lay. He asked them to surrender his mother, but refusing to give his horse in exchange for her, was doomed to witness her cruel murder by one of the Saracens. The pangs of remorse converted the warrior into a hermit, and led him in concert with others to found the monastery of Conques, and spend the residue of his life in the still greater solitude of Grandvabre.¹

It was probably on the occasion of his marriage to Hermingard, a daughter of Count Ingram, that the corrupt administration of the kingdom of Louis drew forth the direct interposition of his royal father. Some provision had to be made for the domestic establishment of the king, who was then about sixteen. His father expressed surprise at what seemed to be an exhibition of parsimony, for he failed to bring (unless by special request) the so-called *benedictio*; and was amazed to learn that the administrators of the kingdom of Aquitaine had taken advantage of the inexperience of Louis, diverted the crown-property in land to their own uses, and reduced the young puppet-king to a state of poverty. Charles immediately stopped the outrage by the appointment of special commissioners charged with the duty of recovering the royal domain, and applying the revenue to the use of the crown.

mann., Enh. Fuld., Lauresh.—Reinaud.

¹ Le Cointe, VII., 507; Bouquet, VI., 517.

The task was one of great delicacy and its execution one of considerable difficulty; but the tact of the commissioners, Willibert, and Richard, the brother of Angilbert,¹ especially that of Meginarius, sufficed to accomplish the necessary measures without much inconvenience to any class of persons except the rapacious vassals who had so grossly abused the confidence of Charles.

The juncture, moreover, appeared favorable to the introduction of certain reforms, which might enhance the personal popularity of Louis; but his royal father instructed the commissioners to proceed with the utmost caution, lest the sensitive nobles should withdraw their affection from his beloved son.

The King of Aquitaine had no civil list, and the expense of the royal establishment was defrayed from the revenue derived from domanial possessions, and certain dues and supplies; it was ordered that thenceforth the king should reside during the winter months in fixed rotation on the royal villas at Doué, Chasseneuil, Angeac, and Ebreuil,² and this arrangement, in the opinion of the commissioners, would equally distribute the burden of supplying the Court, and not

¹ If the conjecture of Mabillon, *Ann. Ben.*, II., 266 is correct.

² I have given in the text the modern names. The authorities mention the Latin names; thus Doué, or more fully Doué-la-Fontaine, dep. Maine-et-Loire, arr. Saumur, answers to *Theotiadum*; Chasseneuil, the birth-place of Louis, on the Clain in Poitou, to *Cassinogilus*, or *Cassinogilum*; Angeac on the Charente, to *Andiacum*; and Ebreuil, north of Clermont, to *Eurogilum*.

These localities have been the subject of considerable controversy. Concerning *Theotiadum*, Ermold. Nigell. *l. c.* p. 480 (II., 93 sqq.) writes:

Trans fluvium Ligeris locus est quippe uber et aptus
Cingitur hinc silvis, hinc quoque planitie,
At medius placido fluviorum gurgite vernat,
Piscibus est habilis est locuplexque feris,
Quo Hludowicus ovans praeclsa palatia struxit.
Quaeris? Inest Thedwat nomen, amice, sibi.

The following authentic passage relates to Chasseneuil, dep. Vienne, arr. Poiriers Cant. St. Georges:—"Cassanogilo villa palatio nostro in pago Pictavo secus alveum Clinno."—*Polyptychum Irminonis*, publié par Guérard, II., 344. Append. No. 9. Cf. Simson, *Ludw. d. Fromme*, I., 33, No. 5; Mühlbacher, *l. c.* p. 80.

On all the localities, see the collection of passages, Simson, *l. c.* II., 89 sqq.

overtax the ability of any one villa. Under this regulation the Court came only once in four years, and the event proved that it was a salutary measure as well as an economic necessity. The summer months Louis generally spent with his father, but the city of Toulouse, where he held the provincial diets, was nominally, at least, his permanent residence.

The domanial income was considerable and adequate to the extension of the reforms to the removal of an onerous and most unpopular obligation which until that time remained operative. Louis abolished the so-called *fodrum*, that is, supplies in kind for the support of "military men," a term which comprehended not only the militia, but the counts and judges. It was an annual tax and its collection frequently accompanied by "excessive harshness" on the part of the collectors; its abolition, therefore, was hailed as a great blessing. The king engaged to defray or provide for the *fodrum* from his own revenue, to the satisfaction of the people, and the sole discontent of the extortionate collectors.

He abolished, likewise, the tribute in corn and wine which the Albigenses had been obliged to pay.

These judicious and merciful reforms were most beneficial, and, it is said, so greatly admired by Charles, that he ordered the abolition of the *fodrum* throughout his dominions. But this seems to be purely imaginary, for the capitularies not only do not mention, but flatly contradict, such repeal.²

795] Meanwhile the relations of the Frankish government to the Saracens near the Aquitanian frontier and the Christian King Alonso II., were marked by growing cordiality, and the vexed delimitation of the Spanish Marche was accomplished without much difficulty. The town of Ausona (*Vich*), the castle of Cardona, the town of Castaserra (*Cas-seres*) and other places were fortified, garrisoned by Frankish troops, and placed under the general direction of Count Burellus.³ In the following year the death of the emir

¹ Crudelitas.

² Vita Hlud. cc. 5-7; Ermold. Nigell. II., 93-98; Mabillon, *l. c.* IV., 1; id. Vita Bened. Anian., 41.

³ Vita Hlud., c. 8. Lembke, *Geschichte von Spanien*, I., p. 385 sq.

Hescham appears to have been the immediate occasion of a raid into Saracen territory, which led to no important immediate results.¹

Still, the presence at the court of Charles in Aix-la-Chapelle, of Zeid, the wali of Barcelona, who commended himself and his city (that is, made his submission), shows that there was a favorable opening for the recovery of 797] what had been lost and the conquest of new territory. Louis was ordered to undertake the work and begin it with the investment of Huesca; but this expedition like the former seems to have been a failure.²

Later in the same year the Saracen Abdallah, a son of Abdel-Rhaman, proceeded to Aix-la-Chapelle and made his submission. This was peculiar, and affords striking illustration of the fame and power of Charles. The Saracens who heretofore came for aid or suing for peace were the rebellious subjects or enemies of the reigning Ommiad family of Cordova. Abdallah was a member of that family and sought the king's protection against the ruling emir. "I am," he said in substance, "a son of Abdel-Rhaman. When my father died my brother Hesham rose against me and dispossessed me. I was banished to Mauritania. Hesham is dead and his son El Hakem sits in the throne, which of right belongs to me. I commend myself to you, and invoke your aid against the usurper."

Abdel-Rhaman, or, as he was also called, Abderrhaman, or Abdurrrhaman, the Emir of Cordova, upon the authority of Ahmed el Mokri, an Arab historian of the eleventh century, sought after the campaign of 778 to form an alliance with Charles by marriage, "but the former having met with an accident on the loins . . . that design was abandoned. Charles, however, courted his friendship and pressed the alliance, and, though the latter was declined, peace was established between the sovereigns."³

This statement is legendary and improbable. The said

¹ Annal. Lauresh., cf. Lembke, *l. c.*, I., p. 363, sq.

² Ann. Lauriss., Einh., Maxim.

³ Murphy, *History of the Mahometan Empire in Spain*, p. 84.—Lembke *l. c.* I., 349.

emir died in the 59th year of his life, probably in 788, and passing over his elder two sons, was succeeded by Hesham. We may accept as an established fact that soon after his accession, about 789, the Franks conquered a tract of littoral territory from the Saracens.¹ Abdallah was one of the elder brothers.

Charles accepted his homage and promised to help him; the extent of the support he gave is not known, but it was doubtless inadequate. Such an army as the claimant to the throne of Cordova needed in order to enforce his rights, say a body of from eighty to a hundred thousand men, Charles could not and would not furnish. The notices of record are vague. We learn that late in the year Abdallah was directed to return with King Louis to Aquitaine, and that agreeably to his own desire he was afterwards conducted into Spain, and committed to the hands of trusty men, of whose good faith he entertained no doubt.² It is proper to add that his enterprise miscarried.

The singular cordiality between Charles and Alonso II., King of the Asturias, has been mentioned before. His admission ms. 11 of the king of the Franks was remarkable and he neglected no opportunity of expressing it. The year before he sent him a magnificent tent; now he apprised him of the conquest of Lisbon, and in token of his regard Froia and Basiliscus, his ambassadors, brought a present of seven captive Moors, seven mules, and as many coats of mail.³ Such was his devotion that when he sent "letters or ambassadors to Charles, he invariably styled himself his *subject*."⁴

Legend, without a shadow of authority, fables of a tender explanation of their cordial intercourse, representing that Alonso was affianced to a sister of Charles, whom he never saw.⁵

As an offset to these living Saracen trophies in the palace at Aix-la-Chapelle, came the alarming intelligence that

¹ Alcuin. ep. 14 (Simson, *l. c.* II., 15).

² Annal. Lauriss., Einh. cf. Lembke, *l. c.* I., 356, 364.

³ Annal. Lauriss., Einh., Max.

⁴ Vita Caroli, c. 16, *proprium suum*.

⁵ Lembke, *l. c.* I., 395. Alonso reigned from 791 to 843.

their unconfined brethren had made a piratical descent upon the Balearic Islands of Majorica and Minorica,¹ as the inhabitants called them. The pirates are described as Saracens and Moors.

About this time the bishop Theodulf of Orleans, and Laidradus, archbishop-designate of Lyons, were sent as special commissioners into the Provence and Septimania. A curious poetic report of their mission, from the pen of the former, sheds much light on the condition of society in the kingdom of Louis, and is here reproduced in part.

He writes, that vast multitudes of people, of both sexes, and of every age, crowded upon them, seeking to press the adjudication of their suits by bribery, attempted in various ways.

"One man," he says, "offers me Oriental gems for putting him in possession of his neighbor's lands; another gold coin with Arabic inscriptions, or silver with Latin legends, as the price of some coveted estate or house." The case of a third, seeking to influence him through one of his servants, is remarkable. He took him aside, saying: "I have a splendid and costly vase; it is a marvel for the purity of its metal, its great weight, and still greater antiquity; it is superbly ornamented.

"You may see thereon the story of the crimes of Cacus; the bruised and blood-stained faces of the shepherds, and all the tokens of his many acts of rapine. There is a field saturated with the blood of cattle and of men; Hercules in his fury breaking the bones of the son of Vulcan, from whose savage mouth belch forth the most fearful of his father's flames; Hercules thrusts his knee into his vitals, his feet into his sides, and with his iron club crushes the face and smoke-emitting throat of his fierce opponent. There he drives the oxen out of the cave, and you plainly see their dread of being pulled a second time by their tails.

"All this covers the hollow part of the vase within a bordered circle. The other side, though less grand in

¹ Ann. Lauriss., Einh., Enh. Fuld.

design, represents the infant of Tyrinthus in the act of strangling the two serpents, and all the ten labors in regular succession.

"Constant use, however, has unfortunately made the outside of the vase so smooth that the effigies of Hercules, the river Chalydon, and Nessus fighting for the beautiful Deianira, have almost become effaced. Nevertheless there remain distinctly visible the fatal robe poisoned with the blood of Nessus, and the terrible fate of the hapless Lychas; aye, and you may see expire in those fearful arms the famous Anteus, who, unlike other mortals, could not be vanquished in combat, or thrown on the ground.¹

"This beautiful vase I propose to offer to my lord, if he does as I desire. You understand that my parents have presented their freedom to a large number of persons, who are now virtually free; but if we change their papers, your master will take comfort from the ownership of that beautiful vase, I from the possession of all those people, and you from the handsome present I intend to make to you."

Theodulf mentions a number of similar attempts at bribery, and concludes the long but entertaining poem with a solemn charge to the "judges," terminating as follows:

"Spare, mortal man, thy fellow-mortals, whenever you are able; there is but one law for them and you. However different your course may be here upon earth, remember that both its beginning and its ending must ever be the same to them and to yourself.

"For them as well as yourself there flows a sacred fount in which both you and they must wash away the stain of inherited sin. . . .

"The author of life died both for you and them, and will reward every man as he deserves. I now furl the sails of my finished book, trusting that my bark may ever ride at anchor on that trusty shore."²

¹ I am undecided whether Theodulf made fun of the strange mythological statements of the tempter, or selected him as the mouthpiece of his own learning, for he is as fond of innuendo as of scholastic display.

² Theodulf. Carm. 28, in Poetae Lat. aev. Carol., I.

The Saracen descent on the Balearic Islands was followed by a direct appeal to Charles on the part of the inhabitants. **799]** He was not slow in punishing the pirates, who were a source of terror to the dwellers on the coasts of Aquitaine. He issued orders for the outfit of a Frankish fleet, in the ports of Narbonensis and Septimania, and along the whole coast of Italy as far as Rome for defensive and offensive service.

The Frankish fleet appeared off the islands, defeated the Saracens with great loss, set up the Frankish flag, received the submission of the islanders, and sent to Charles the Saracen standards.¹

Fortune also smiled upon him in the Spanish peninsula, for, ere the year closed, Hassan, wali of Huesca, sent ambassadors, with presents and the keys of the city, promising its surrender on the first favorable opportunity.² Some time, however, was to elapse before it presented itself.

Louis might desire and urge the necessity of his father's **800]** personal presence at Chasseneuil, both with respect to military operations in Spain and the better establishment of his kingdom; but Charles, feeling that domestic sorrow and more important business forbade compliance, commanded him to meet him at Tours, to which place he was about to repair accompanied by the Queen Liutgard, who was in failing health, and his two sons, Charles and Pepin.³

The objects of the royal visit were two-fold, the one religious, the other political, but the first clearly masked the second. It was given out that the lord king was about to frequent (in connection with a journey of inspection to the seaport towns in the Channel), during and after Lent, certain holy places containing the relics of illustrious saints "for the sake of prayer." The prayer was not only for the salvation of his soul, but more particularly for the recovery of the beautiful and beloved Liutgard; the physicians could not help her, but the saints might; still, they remained deaf to entreaty, and even St. Martin disregarded both her own

¹ Annal. Lauriss., Einh.; cf. Alcuin. ep. 127, and Vita Caroli, c. 17.

² Annal. Lauriss.; Einh.

³ Vita Hlud., c. 12.

ferent prayer and the intercessions of her mighty husband, his three royal sons, and the saintly custodian of his bones, for she grew worse and died at Tours.

The political object of the royal progress had respect to the grand event in course of preparation which exalted Charles to the summit of earthly power. He conferred with Angilbert at St. Riquier, with Alcuin at Tours, and on his return, after the queen's funeral, with Theodulf at Orleans.¹

The biographer of Alcuin (who, by the bye, wrote in the next reign and in glorification of the pious Louis) makes him a prophet.

The king, holding Alcuin by the hand, asked him in a low voice: "Tell me, master mine, which of these my three sons will in your opinion succeed me in the honors which God on me unworthy has bestowed?" Alcuin directed his eye on Louis and said, "The humble Louis will be your excellent successor."

Only the king heard what he said. They entered the Church of St. Stephen, and Alcuin noticing the attitude of the royal brothers, Charles and Pepin with their heads proudly erect, but Louis meekly bowing his, said to those around him: "Do you see Louis more humble than his brothers? Verily you will behold him as the most illustrious successor of his father."

Presently, while administering the Holy Sacrament to the royal brothers, the humble Louis again bowed his head and kissed the hand of the venerable man. Alcuin turned round to Sigulf and said: "'Whosoever shall exalt himself shall be abased; and he that shall humble himself shall be exalted.'² Verily Francia will rejoice in this man's succession in the *empire*."³

The present writer rejects the prophecy, which labors under the suspicion of having been uttered, or rather manufactured after the event; for its credibility is neither estab-

¹ Annal. Lauresh., Guelf. (799),
Lauriss. Einh. Alc. ep. nos. 132, 133,
238.—See Note, p. 313.

² Matth. xxiii. 12.

³ Vita Alchuini, p. 23 sq.

lished by the biographer's assertion that Sigulf was his authority, nor by his testimony as to the reality of the event: "We also now see and rejoice in the fulfilment."¹

The reference, moreover, to Charles as *emperor* at a time when he was only *king* savors of historical inaccuracy; while the striking resemblance of the alleged Alcuinian prediction with that which the poetic Ermoldus Nigellus puts on the lips of Paulinus, patriarch of Aquileia,² impugns the authenticity of both; and last, not least, comes the improbability of Charles committing himself to so indiscreet a question at that or any other time, and the yet greater improbability of Alcuin committing himself to so injudicious a reply and vaticination.

One thing, however, is certain, that Louis asked Alcuin to send him from time to time hortatory epistles, that he read them with great humility, and that Alcuin had an exalted opinion of his piety.

This is evident from a letter of Alcuin to the junior Charles (date 801-804), in which he exclaims: "Would that I might have the privilege of frequently addressing to your majesty (*almitati*) letters of admonition, even as the most noble youth, your brother Chlodoicus (Louis) has desired me often to send admonitory epistles; the which also I have done, and God willing, shall continue to do; which letters, I know, he is wont to read with great humility, etc."³

Bidding for the present adieu to the pious king of Aquitaine, we now follow his brother Pepin to Italy in order to chronicle the martial events falling within this period and belonging to his kingdom.

We have heard of his birth, that his original name of Carloman gave way to that of Pepin when Pope Hadrian, his godfather, baptized, crowned, and anointed him king of Italy, and that he resided from his childhood in Pavia.

His rule was purely nominal, for the *baiulus*, or guardian, whom Charles placed by his side, conducted in his name, but under the direction of his royal father, the affairs of his

¹ Hoc nos jam factum et videmus et
gaudemus, etc.

² l. V., 564-600 in MG. SS. 477 sq.
³ Alc. ep. 245, l. c., p. 790.

kingdom. We have met him in company with his father in the Beneventan campaign, in command of one of the armies on the way to Bavaria, and as a victorious leader and conqueror in Pannonia.

It is proper to recall the circumstance that at the time of the submission of Arigiso, duke of Benevento, Charles made choice of Grimoald, his younger son, as the thirteenth hostage, and took him to Francia. This happened early in 787; a few months later death removed first Rumold (21st July), and, after only five weeks (26th of August), duke Arigiso, so that the hostage fell heir to the duchy.

788] The Beneventans sent an embassy to Charles, entreating him to surrender Grimoald, while the pope used his influence in checkmating them. Charles refused, but despatched five plenipotentiaries, to wit: Maginarius, abbot of St. Denis, the deacons Atto and Joseph, the *ostiarius* Goteramnus, and count Liuderich as special commissioners to the spot, where, according to Hadrian, Adelchis, son of Desiderius, and Byzantine agents were exerting themselves against Frankish supremacy.¹

The policy of all the parties concerned in this matter was as diverse as were their interests; the whole situation was full of embarrassments, suggesting a few words of explanation.

Under the arrangement made with Arigiso,² Benevento became tributary to Francia, and Grimoald, the duke's youngest son, a hostage in the hands of Charles. In their sudden bereavement the Beneventans turned to him, requesting the liberation of Grimoald, and the royal consent to his succession in the ducal throne.

Charles hesitated, for he may have suspected the loyalty of Adelperga, whose feelings towards him could not be cordial, and of the Beneventans generally. He deemed it expedient, before committing himself in the matter, to ascertain their true sentiments, and appointed the afore-

¹ Cod. Carol. (Jaffé), nos. 84-86; Ep. Carol. (Jaffé), 5; Erchempert, *Hist. Langob.* (in MG., 55, Langob., I., 236).

² See p. 177 sq.

named commissioners, instructing them to learn from personal intercourse with the ducal family and the Beneventans, and their independent observation all the bearings of the case and report to him the results of their inquiries. The king, moreover, desired them to confer with the pope before they proceeded to Benevento.

Hadrian was less the friend and partisan of Charles than the enemy of the Lombards generally, and of the duchess Adelperga and her children in particular; but first and foremost he was the friend of himself or, as he put it, of St. Peter.

The interests of the apostle and his enmity of the Lombards shaped his policy and controlled his actions. He left no stone unturned in order to prevent the return of Grimoald and accomplish the reduction of Benevento to a province of the Frankish empire.

Such was the situation when the royal commissioners arrived at Rome. Hadrian doubtless tried to instil his views into their minds, and influenced some of their number to act upon his suggestions.

He warned them of foul play and bade them by all means travel together; they nevertheless found it not convenient to act upon this hint, but agreed to meet at Benevento.

When Maginarius arrived there, he learned that his colleagues had continued their journey to Salerno, and was told by Frankish partisans that the Beneventans designed forcibly to detain the commissioners until Charles should decide the matter of Grimoald, and the restoration to their rule of the cities previously promised, assigned, or donated to St. Peter, agreeably to their wishes.¹

He then decided to remain at Benevento, and pretending sickness, requested the duchess to direct the return of his colleagues, and send her own commissioners for a conference to Benevento. This proposal the duchess rejected, and probably the same Frankish partisans frightened the commissioners with the rumor of a Beneventan conspiracy

¹ See p. 178.

against their lives, so that they fled during the night and found safety at Valva on Spoletan territory.

Atto also, it was said, hearing the same rumor at Salerno, took sanctuary in the church; but his fears, if he had any, were as unfounded as those of his colleagues, since the Beneventans, so far from offering him violence or attempting to detain him, begged him to return to Charles and assure him of their loyalty, pledging him to use his influence with the king to consent to the liberation and return of Grimoald.

Atto, it seems, returned to Francia before the other commissioners and kept his promise.

The failure of the joint conference was doubtless the effect of Hadrian's intriguing, and the alarming insinuations of the Francophiles at Benevento probably emanated from the same source.

The epistles of Hadrian, from which most of these details are drawn, are most damaging to his reputation.

Immediately after Atto left Salerno, writes the pontiff, two *spatharii*, envoys from Constantinople, accompanied by the governor of Sicily, who during the stay of Atto had not been permitted to come ashore, landed at Acropoli in Lucania, and under conduct of a Beneventan escort, proceeded to Salerno, where for the space of three days they were in close conference with the duchess and the notables. The Beneventans, he adds, informed the Greeks that they had, first through their own ambassadors, and then through Atto, requested Charles to set Grimoald at liberty, desiring them pending his expected return to remain at Naples, and assuring them that Grimoald would certainly fulfil all the obligations which Arigiso had undertaken, but not been able to perform, and make his submission to the Greek emperor, their master.¹

It is unnecessary to discuss so improbable and incredible a statement. The *spatharii*, however, proceeded to Naples, and, according to Hadrian, ceased not to plot against Charles.

¹ Epist. Carol., Jaffé IV., 256 sqq.; 346 sq.; 348; Cod. Carol., 257 sq., 258, 261.

In one of his epistles the pontiff declares that even though the Beneventans should in all respects comply with the demands of Charles, he considered the return of Grimoald most undesirable. "Rest assured," he writes, "that if you send Grimoald to Benevento, you cannot be secure in the possession of Italy."²

He also enlarges upon the scheme of Adelchis attempting with the aid of the Greeks the restoration of the Lombard kingdom.

Another topic of constant recurrence is the Beneventan request of the restitution to their rule of the Beneventan cities which Charles had given to the apostle.³ It is a most sore point with him, and he conjures Charles to perfect the donation so that he might be able at the apostle's tomb to pray both for Charles, the queen, his spiritual daughter, and his children.³

In this connection the case of Capua is remarkable for pontifical casuistry. He informs the commissioners that the presbyter Gregory with nine other Capuans had come to him denouncing the machinations of the Beneventans and Greeks, and acknowledging his authority, saying that they desired to become the subjects of himself and St. Peter, even as they were recognized as such by virtue of the king's donation.

These men were private individuals and partisans of his, opposed to the return of Grimoald, and, of course, utterly unauthorized to speak or act for their city. Hadrian, however, saw in their coming a splendid opening for getting Capua, saying that "it seemed to him expedient to receive them into the service of St. Peter because it would foster dissensions among the Capuans, which would prove most beneficial to St. Peter and his most excellent son the lord king," thinking "that division was very desirable as tending to save both of them much trouble, and proving the best means for effecting the submission of the Capuans."⁴

² Ibid. Jaffé, IV., 254, sq.

³ Ibid. Jaffé, IV., 259.

² Ibid. Jaffé, IV., 255, sq. 263; cf.

⁴ Ibid. Jaffé, IV., 258, 345, sq.

347 sq.

The Prince of Peace bequeathed His peace to His disciples, and tenderly prayed for the Unity of the Church; but He also said once, speaking of the opposition to His religion by a wicked world, that He came to set men at variance. Hadrian appears to have forgotten the first passage and misapplied the latter.¹

He begged the commissioners to give him their opinion; their answer is not of record, but he actually received the Capuans soon after, and although he took the precaution of making them likewise swear fealty to Charles, the city remained Beneventan, and his claim of it vanishes altogether from the record.²

Such was the situation in Italy when the Beneventan case awaited the final decision of Charles. It redounds to his credit that he set aside the recommendations of Hadrian, and on much higher political grounds, probably also from a sense of justice and humanity, pursued the most honorable course.

The commissioners reported to Charles that open revolt was inevitable, unless he respected the popular will and allowed Grimoald to succeed in the government.

That revolt would most probably have convulsed all Italy, and promoted a certain alliance between Benevento and the Greeks; and these allies would have supported Tassilo and the Avars, and involved Charles in a most dangerous war.³

He therefore released Grimoald, and binding him by terrible oaths to the performance of the duties of a faithful vassal, presumably to the continuance of the tribute, to the recognition of Frankish supremacy by causing the royal name to appear on his coins, and to the injunction requiring all Lombards to shave their chins, confirmed him in the succession, and allowed him to set out for his dominions.⁴

¹ Compare St. John xiv., 27; im., 787; Altahens., 787. Erchempert, *l. c.* p. 236. Chron. Salern. cc. xvii., 22, with St. Matth. x., 35.

² Jaffé, IV., 260.

³ Annal. Lauresh.; Nazar.; Lauriss.; Einh. Vita Caroli, c. 11.

⁴ Annal. Laur. maj.; Einh., Max-

im., 787; Altahens., 787. Erchempert, *l. c.* p. 236. Chron. Salern. cc. 24, 25. The language concerning the oath runs thus: Et Grimoldum per terribile sacramentum constituit ducem, etc.—Annal. Maxim. a. 787, MG.

It is also said that Authari and Paulipert were designated resident royal commissioners, to observe Grimoald, and make sure of his loyalty, Grimoald being expected to make honorable provision for them. They were probably Lombards, at least their names are Lombard names, and it is added that Charles desired Grimoald to select a maiden of their noble race as his wife.¹

It seems that Grimoald soon forgot these obligations, assumed a decidedly rebellious attitude, and by marrying the princess Wantia, niece of one of the Greek emperors, formed a close alliance with the East, which in the strained relations between Charles and the Byzantine Court,² opened the door to intrigue. It is difficult, after the lapse of nearly eleven centuries, and with so few data to guide us, to form an impartial judgment of his conduct; but appearances are decidedly against him, and expose him to the charge of insincerity.

Two of his gold coins extant, displaying on the obverse his image and name, and on the reverse the inscription, DOMS CARO RX, as well as an official document of his, of this period (say 789), setting forth the preamble: "In the twentieth year of the reign of the most pious Charles, the great King of the Franks and of the Lombards, and patrician of the Romans," prove that he observed formally some of the engagements of his oath.³

On the other hand, the Lombard historian charges him with flagrant violations of the rest, and beginning the strife of rebellion.⁴ Beneventan private documents extant disclose the fact that he completely ignored the existence of Charles, for they designate Grimoald "chief duke," "the

SS. XIII.; and on the provision about the beard: Sed prius eum sacramento vinxit, ut Langobardorum mentum tondere faceret.—Erchempert, as before. See Muratori, *Annali*, a. 788, cf. V. Hadriani, Duchesne, *l. c.* 495 sq., where the new subjects of the pope "more Romanorum tonsorati sunt;" and Codex Carol. Jaffé, IV., 260, containing the promise of Arigiso

to the Byzantines, "tam in tonsura quam in vestibus usu Grecorum perfui sub eiusdem imperatoris dicione."

¹ Chron. Salern. c. 25.

² See the concluding paragraphs of this chapter.

³ Soetbeer, in *Forschungen*, IV., 339, and Hirsch, *ib.*, XIII., 64.

⁴ Erchempert, *l. c.*

most glorious lord, by divine providence clothed with supreme power, and appointed prince of the Lombards;" and only mention the year of *his* "principate."¹

All such rebellious acts were duly noted, and reported, by the ever vigilant Hadrian, whose communications are not chargeable with understatement, and drew forth a royal order in virtue of which Pepin led an army into the Bene-**791**] ventan territory, which ravaged "a great part" of the same and set it on fire.² In the following year Pepin and Louis returned with a large army, composed in part of Aquitanian troops, devastated the duchy, seized a castle, and flushed with victory, retraced their steps to Germany because, according to the intimation of an encomiastic biographer of his Aquitanian majesty, filial regard prompted them to hasten to the side of Charles and comfort him in the sorrowful conspiracy of their half-brother. This was doubtless part of the truth, but not the whole; the retreat of the Frankish army was a stern necessity, for it arrived at the time **792**] of a famine so exceeding sore that not a few were unable to keep the Lenten fast, and—in the total failure of bread-supplies—had to maintain themselves by eating meat.³

The famine was not confined to Benevento but extended over a large territory; it raged throughout Italy, in Burgundy, Gothia, the Provence, and other parts of Francia. The incidents connected with it, of which we read, are too horrid to be credible. The poor people in their distress ate everything, devoured the most revolting substances, and even turned cannibals, "brothers eating their brothers, and mothers their own children." In some parts their misery was heightened by nature mocking them with the lying promise of rich harvests; the fields brought forth an immense quantity of "false corn;" "whoever ate of it died, while the flour which was made of it vanished under their hands."⁴

The authorities are silent concerning the details of military

¹ Cod. dipl. Cavens., I., 1-6, Nos. 1-5.

² Annal. Guelferb. a. 791.

³ Vita Hlud. c. 6; Annal. Lauresh.

⁴ Annal. Mosell. 791, 92. Lauresh., Salisb. addit. auct. Cod. Monac. MG. SS. XIII. 237.—See Capit. Francof., Book III., Ch. I., no. 25.

events in Benevento during the remaining years of the eighth century; and it must serve our purpose to supplement the omission by the subjoined general paragraphs of the Lombard historian. "Charles," he writes, "frequently overran the Beneventan territory with armies of immense strength, but God, under whose protection we have flourished until now, sent a pestilence on them [*i. e.* later], and again and again compelled him after the loss of countless multitudes ingloriously to return with a mere handful of soldiers.

"Thus it happened that while Pepin ruled in Ticinum (=Pappia or Pavia] and Grimoald defended Benevento, perpetual war was the sad lot of the poor Beneventans, so much so that during the lifetime of the said princes they had not a moment of peace. For both princes from early youth to age excelled and delighted only in commotion and war. Pepin, with a large army under his command, was ever stirring up strife for Grimoald, while Grimoald, safe in the possession of strong cities, and the compact support of the nobles and the people, lightly esteemed and despised the persecution of Pepin, and in no manner gave way to him. The ambassadors of Pepin had instructions to say that it was his steadfast purpose to make Grimoald as much his subject as Arigiso, his progenitor, had been the subject of Desiderius, King of Italy."

To this vaunt Grimoald replied: "Free and freeborn I am on the side of my father and mother, and I believe that, with the help of God, free I shall ever remain."¹

Retracing the course of events, it is strange to record in the light of subsequent events the episode of the long-expected Byzantine intervention in the affairs of Italy, occasioned, it is alleged, by the refusal of Charles to ratify in actual marriage the matrimonial engagement of the Emperor Constantine and his daughter Rotrud.² At any rate

¹ "Liber et ingenuus sum natus utroque parente; Semper ero liber, credo, tuente Deo." Erchempertus, *Hist. Langob. Benevent.* MG. SS. (S.S. Rerum Langob. et Ital. Saec. VI.-IX.) t. i., p. 236.

² Annal. Einh. a. 783. The Greeks represent that the Empress Irene broke off the match; cf. Theoph. Chronogr. Bouquet, V., 188. See p. 231, note 2.

it is certain that hostilities began on the part of the Greeks, and that Arigiso shortly before his death succeeded in stirring up a Greek feeling in some of the cities of Tuscany, while negotiating with the Court of Constantinople on the subject of a union of Naples and Benevento under Byzantine supremacy, but to be administered by himself as imperial vassal.

His death put an end to the plot, and Grimoald, fresh from his transalpine abode with Charles, in a burst of loyalty, remained deaf to the entreaties of his mother (a daughter of Desiderius), and the overtures of the Greeks and his uncle Adelchis (the son of Desiderius), looking to the overthrow of Frankish supremacy in Italy, the independence of Benevento, and the restoration of the Lombard kingdom.

An imperial army landed in Calabria and marched, under conduct of prince Adelchis, John the treasurer, and Theodore, prefect and patrician of Sicily, upon Benevento.

A Frankish army, composed of troops collected in Northern Italy, and the Spoletan and Beneventan contingents, set out to meet them. Hildebrand, Duke of Spoleto, and Grimoald, Duke of Benevento, led their own forces, but under the general direction of the royal legate Count Wini- gisus, a Frankish officer of great ability. An engagement took place in which the imperialists suffered a stinging defeat, deploring the loss of John the treasurer, and of the gallant Adelchis, "who was slain in bitter death," if the statement of the authority named last in the note were entitled to respect. But as it is manifestly the result of a palpable mistake, the additional detail that the Franks took him prisoner and executed him falls to the ground. It is generally believed that he returned to Constantinople and died there in old age.¹ The Frankish authorities admit only a slight loss, but claim many prisoners and rich spoils.

The event gave the death-blow to the restoration of Lombard rule, and crushed the hopes of the Byzantines for the recovery of their departed prestige.¹ The Greek loss in

¹ Annal. Einh.; Lauriss.; Maxim.; cf. Chron. Theophon.; Sigeberti, a. 788.

slain is given at four thousand, and in prisoners at one thousand. The Greeks fled to their ships and sailed away.¹

Among the remaining events of this period the subjugation of Brittany and the Norman piracies are most memorable.

The fierce Bretons, a people of Celtic origin, having felt the power of the Franks for more than half a century, but too turbulent to acquiesce in a rule which they loathed, took occasion to assert their independence whenever they could. In 786 their refusal to pay tribute was followed by a Frankish army which entered the Marche and exacted their submission.² After the lapse of thirteen years they raised once more the standard of revolt. Count Wido, a valiant, just and pure man of parts, and of illustrious descent, led an army throughout the entire province, over which he presided as prefect, and for the *first time* subdued it. Until then the submission had only been partial, but now it "seemed to be wholly subdued, and would have been so in reality," adds the annalist, "had not the habitual fickleness of the treacherous people soon changed the appearance of things."³ Wido received the submission of the chiefs, and in token of its reality, their arms, inscribed with the name of their owners; their delivery, it would seem, was the expressive symbol of the obedience of the respective chief together with that of the people living on his land. The solemn presentation of these trophies, arranged in stands, and inscribed as told, in the royal residence at Aix-la-Chapelle, must have been an imposing scene, alike grateful to the king and his faithful prefect.⁴—It is added, that the Breton chieftains in the year next ensuing paid their respects to Charles at Tours, with presents, and ratifying their submission by taking the customary oath of allegiance.⁵

¹ Annal. Einh., Alcuin. Ep. 14.

cited or named by Simson, *l. c.* II.,

² Annal. Einh., Lauriss., a. 786; cf.

200 n. 7.

Vita Caroli, c. 10. See p. 217.

⁴ Annal. Lauriss., Einh.

³ Annal. Einh., a. 799, cf. Annal.

⁵ Annal. Mett.

Lauriss. cf. on Wido the authorities

By a strange coincidence the Frankish dominions began to be exposed simultaneously to piratical descents on the islands of the Mediterranean by the Moors, and along the vast stretch of coast from Aquitaine and Brittany to the mouth of the Elbe, by the Normans, or Northmen. They were Danes who "began their career as pirates, but afterwards took to laying waste the coasts of Gaul and Germany with a large fleet."¹

Charles, at their first appearance, with his usual energy, commanded the defence of the coast, and if necessary, the pursuit and punishment of the invaders. He instituted a coast-guard service in all the harbors, and the mouths of rivers large enough to admit the entrance of vessels,² ordered the building of a fleet, and proceeded in person, as we have seen, to inspect the progress of the work.

The northern pirates infested the islands, and coast, of Aquitaine;³ these islands were Oléron, Ré, Yeu (Dieu), and Noirmoutier, off the French coast, in the Bay of Biscay.⁴ Alcuin states that in one of their descents, part of them perished, and that a hundred and five of the pirates lay dead on the shore, adding that the great and sore chastisement of such visitation, unknown to Christians of former generations, was probably caused by the unfaithfulness of the servants of God in the matter of their vows. The subsequent history of the Norman piracies seems to intimate a different cause.⁵

An anecdote, more legendary than historical, belonging to this period, is given at its worth.

"Charles who was ever astir," records the Monk, "arrived by mere hap, and unexpectedly, in a certain town of Narbonne Gaul. Whilst he was at dinner, and as yet unrecognized of any, some corsairs of the Northmen came to ply their piracies in that very port. When their vessels were descried, it was thought that they were Jewish traders, as

¹ Vita Caroli, c. 14.

² Ibid., c. 17, Annal. Lauriss., Einh., a. 800.

³ lAc. ep. 127 (Jaffé).

⁴ See Dümmler's note on the last citation, and Simson, *l. c.* II., 207, no. 2.

⁵ Alcuin. ep. 127.

some conjectured; others said that they were African, and still others declared that they were British. But the gifted monarch, perceiving from the build and lightness of the craft, that they bore not merchandise but foes, said to his own folk: 'These vessels are not laden with merchandise, but manned with cruel enemies.'

"At these words, all the Franks, in rivalry with one another, ran to their ships, but uselessly; for the Northmen, indeed, hearing that yonder was he whom it was still their wont to call Charles the Hammer, feared lest all their fleet should be taken or destroyed in the port, and avoided, by a flight of inconceivable rapidity, not only the glaives, but even the eyes of those who were pursuing them.

"Pious Charles, however, a prey to well-grounded fear, rose up from table, stationed himself at a window looking eastward, remained there a long while, and his eyes filled with tears. As none durst question him, this warlike prince explained to the nobles who were about his person the cause of his movement and of his tears: 'Know ye, my lieges, wherefore I weep thus bitterly? Of a truth I fear not lest these fellows should succeed in injuring me by their miserable piracies; but it deeply grieves me that, whilst I live, they should have been nigh to touching at this shore, and I am a prey to violent sorrow when I foresee what evils they will heap upon my descendants and their people.'"¹

¹ Monach. Sangall. II., 12.

Note.

The progress of Charles a. 800.

Charles left Aix-la-Chapelle about the middle of March on the tour of inspection along the Channel Coast, in the course of which he appointed the coast guard, and directed the building of a fleet intended for service against the Normans.

He also visited the royal villas and sanctuaries.

Easter he spent with Angilbert, in the monastery of St. Riquier at Centula, receiving there Alcuin.

From St. Riquier he proceeded along the coast to Rouen; at that place Hademar, the ambassador of King Louis, met Charles, entreating him to extend his journey to Chasse-neuil. Charles declined and instead desired his son to meet him at Tours.

He then continued his journey to that city accompanied by Queen Liutgard and his sons Charles and Pepin.

From Tours the king returned, by way of Orleans, Paris, and Ver, to Aix-la-Chapelle; Louis accompanied him to Ver, and then returned to Aquitaine.

CHAPTER XII.

CHARLES AND THE CHURCH, TO THE DEATH OF HADRIAN I.

Inconsistency of Charles.—His relations to the Church.—“General Admonition.”—“Instruction for the Royal Commissioners.”—“Exhortation.”—Theological questions: *Adoptianism*; *Image Worship*.—The “Caroline Books.”—Liberal views of Charles.—Death of Hadrian.—Charles and Hadrian.—Epitaph.—Estimate of Hadrian.

IN essaying to narrate the relations of Charles to the Church we naturally try to probe the man. Thus far we have considered his life in sundry aspects, and discovered first the indomitable will which in the pursuit of its object surmounts every obstacle, removes by the assertion of right, just or unjust, by fair means or foul, individuals or nations that may resist his purpose and dare to oppose his sway; thus Carloman and his family, Desiderius and his family, Tassilo and his family, were ruthlessly and for all time to come made harmless; thus the poor Saxons were cruelly butchered and exterminated, and the hardly more fortunate Avars robbed, killed, and nationally annihilated. We have also discovered in him the sagacity of a farsighted statesman, the genius of a brilliant soldier alike in strategy, resource, and valor, the enlightened patron of learning, literature, art, and science, the selfish violator of laws human and divine in the facility with which he formed or severed matrimonial alliances, the kind and affectionate husband, the indulgent parent, the loving and generous friend.

The evidence in support of all these traits and facts already presented is too overwhelming to admit of dispute. What then, it will be asked, was the religion of Charles? Was he religious in the general sense of the word? Had he

a conscience? Was he uninformed or misinformed on matters of theoretical and practical morality?

Perhaps the best way of answering these questions is to leave them unanswered, or ask the reader if he can believe the king of the Franks a weakling on any point, who could be duped by living mortal in his day and generation?

No, he was the best-informed man of his age, and in the expressed opinion of the highest contemporary authorities, the most pious, devoted, zealous Christian in all Christendom; his praise was rehearsed in every living tongue as that of a Moses, a Joshua, a David, a St. Paul, or a Boanerges. He studied the Scriptures and knew much of them by heart, frequented the service of the Church with scrupulous regularity, knew all the Canons, was deeply versed in scholastic, especially patristic, theology, revised or drew up the Canons, engrafted provisions of the Mosaic code upon the codes of the nations under his rule, preached to the hierarchy of occidental Christendom, exhorted the pope, and originated or corrected the decisions of Church Councils; he was instant in prayer, steeped to the core in religious learning, an enthusiastic lover of Church music, and wont to accompany the rich and pure service of the palace church in the low, sweet tones of his melodious voice.

Such was Charles, inconsistent, peccant, contradictory, in brief—a *man*.

To the Church at large he was the most Christian, the most ardent defender of the faith, animated by the grand and dominant desire of propagating Christianity, imposing the easy yoke of Christ upon pagan idolaters and Moslem misbelievers, and ranging all the nations of Europe under his victorious sceptre. The Saracens fabled of Allah and Mohammed, his prophet; the Christians might point to Charles and say that he was greater than that prophet, and destined to make the Crescent pay homage to the Cross.

With the popes he maintained most friendly intercourse; with Hadrian, for a long time, that of a cordial friendship.

It may be convenient to consider, first, his general relations to the whole hierarchy, and then the great church

questions which belong to the royal reign, as well as trace the course of events which culminated in his coronation as Emperor of the West.

The opening speech, preface, or "General Admonition," made or delivered by Charles in the Diet holden in the palace at Aix-la-Chapelle "in the year of our Lord's incarnation 789, of the Indiction 12, of our reign 21," affords one of the best illustrations of his precise relation to the Church. It reads substantially as follows:

"Jesus Christ, our Lord reigning forever, I, Charles, by the grace and mercy of God, King of the Franks and defender of holy Church, to all orders of ecclesiastical piety or secular power, greeting and peace in Christ Jesus, our eternal Lord.

"Considering attentively with the bishops and our counsellors the special protection of Jesus Christ vouchsafed to ourselves and to our people, as well as the necessity of setting forth without ceasing our thankfulness not only in heart and words, but in the constant practice of good works, in order that we may continue to enjoy such protection, it has seemed expedient to us to stir up your minds, O pastors of the Church of Christ, who are the leaders of His flock and shining lights of the world, exhorting you by your example and advice to conduct the flock of Christ to the pastures of eternal life, and carry on your shoulders the wandering sheep to the wholesome shelter of the Church, safe from the destroying teeth of the wolf lying in wait to devour any tempted to transgress the canonical requirements and the decisions of all the General Councils. On which account we have sent unto you our commissioners in order that conjointly with you they may undertake the correction of such things as need it. . . .

"We have also caused to be added certain new necessary articles in agreement with the Canons of the Church, for the due observance of which you will please take order.

"Let no man deem this our course presumptuous, but rather believe with an ingenuous mind and pure heart that love prompts us to correct error, remove superfluous things, and essay the improvement of such as are good, etc., etc."

The tone of this striking document is that of an episcopal charge, and confirms the remark of the Monk of St. Gall that Charles was "a bishop of bishops." The Church had to obey him, not he the Church.

Fifty-nine of its eighty-one articles are extracts from the Collection of Canons compiled by Dionysius Exiguus, and the whole document is closely connected with an "Instruction for the Royal Commissioners." The reforms aimed at were of a miscellaneous character, as a few examples may show:

Perjurers and children under years of discretion are forbidden to testify on oath (63).¹

¹ The Arabic numerals refer to the "General Admonition;" those with the prefix I., to the "Instruction." The full text of both is given in Boretius. *Capitul.* 67, 70.

Abstract of the "Instruction for the Royal Commissioners."

1. Priority of orphan cases in the Counts' Courts; counts forbidden to go hunting or attend feasts on Court Days.—2. Form of the oath of allegiance to the king and his sons.—3. Consolidation of lesser nunneries, etc. See p. 320.—4. *De tabulis et codicibus requirendis*; superstitious abuse of the Psalter and the Gospel (Migne, XCVII., 187).—5. Searching and keeping a thing *per iniustam rationem* (by magic).—6. Forbidding the remission of legal fines.—7. Baptism according to Roman usage.—8. Shoes (for liturgical use) after the Roman pattern (cf. *Vita Caroli*, c. 23).—9. Attendance at church on Sundays and Holy Days; Mass forbidden to be celebrated in private houses.—10. Prohibition of drunkenness, and of conjuring by St. Stephen, the king and his sons.—11. Prevention of complaints concerning spiritual and secular dignitaries; reports to be made direct to the king.—12. *De iniustis teloneis*.—13. *De manu*

leprosi.—14. Exclusion of monks and priests from secular affairs, etc.—15. Prohibiting bishops, abbots, and abbesses to keep hounds, falcons, etc.—16. Beggars lying in the streets and cross-roads required to go to confession.—17. Altar cloths.—18. Forbidding the baptism of bells, and the attachment to them of papers as preventives of hail.—19. Inspection of the management of royal fiefs, etc.—20. Separation of lepers.—21. Setting the example (by the *missi*) in observing royal commands.—On the Literature, Numeration, etc., of this document see Mühlbacher, *l. c.*, No. 291.

Abstract of the "General Admonition," see p. 316.

CC. 1-59 set forth Canons, etc. See above.

60. Diligent reading and preaching of the Catholic Faith.—61. Of the unity of Christians.—62. Judges enjoined to render righteous judgment and to know the law.—63. Against perjury and oaths by children under years of discretion, as the *Guntbodingi* (that is, Burgundians living under the law of St. Gundebod) do.—64. Against magic and weather-making; destruction of holy trees, groves, and

Monks and clerics to be exempt from lay jurisdiction; counts or judges are enjoined to give priority to the case of minors, and widows, and forbidden to go hunting while the Court is in session (I., 1).

Bishops, abbots, and abbesses, are forbidden to keep hounds, falcons, hawks, or jugglers (I., 15).

A discarded wife may not marry during the husband's life, nor the husband during the life of the wife (43).

This capitulum proves that Charles, like many modern legislators, excelled rather in making than in keeping the law.

The following is a sermonic capitulum:

"Let peace, concord, and unanimity be maintained by all Christians; betwixt bishops, abbots, counts, judges, and all persons everywhere, whether of high or low degree; for God eschews every service without peace, yea the gifts presented at the altar, as the Lord Himself declares in the Gospel, and

springs.—65. Against hatred, envy, avarice and covetousness.—66. Against murder.—67. Against theft, unlawful marriages, false witness.—68. Of filial respect.—69. Examination by the bishop of the official acts, and of the attainments, of priests; clerics forbidden to carry arms.—70. Separation to sacred uses, of churches, altars, and vessels; of reverence during Mass.—71. Of the well-ordered conversation of clerics; sons of serfs and freemen to be admitted to clerical functions; of the establishment of schools, the correction of books, and care against their being injured by scholars; of copies of the necessary Gospels, Psalters, and Mass-Books to be diligently written by adults.—72. Of the regular life in monasteries, and of *canonici* under their bishop, etc.—73. Of true measure and weight.—74. Of hospitality.—75. Against benedictions by abbesses.—76. Of the correction of clerics pretending to be monks.—77.

Against mendacious writings and suspicious stories injurious to the Catholic Faith, especially the forged letter said to have fallen from heaven the year before; such writings to be burned.—78. Against vagabond deceivers, brokers, and pretended penitents.—79. Of the study of the Roman Chant in place of the Gallican.—80. Against servile work on Sundays, as enjoined by King Pepin.—81. Of good sermons, and their topics.

On the Literature, Numeration, and other details, see Mühlbacher, *l. c.*, No. 292.

The Chron. Bernold. (MG. SS. V., 419) records a. 789: Hoc anno Karolus 83 pene canonum capitula totius regni sui episcopis transmisit, ut eius auxilio corrigenda corrigere possent.

On the Canons and Decretals referred to compare Rettberg, *Kirchen-gesch. Deutschlands*, I., 426; Boretius, *l. c.* 70; Malfatti, II., 420 sqq.

because the second commandment of the Decalogue enjoins 'Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself,' etc. (61).

This is unexceptionable doctrine, but rather at variance with the practice of the royal preacher, who was the most bellicose character of his age.

The capitulum on the observance of the Lord's Day is sufficiently strict to please the most rigid Puritan.

"We command," says the royal legislator, "agreeably to the precept laid down in the law of God, that no servile work whatsoever be wrought on the Lord's Day, even as my father of good memory commanded in his synodal edicts, that men must not engage in any agricultural labor, such as working in the vineyard or the field, they must not plough, reap, cut grass, or set fences, or in the woods dig for roots or fell trees; they must not work in quarries or build houses, attend to gardening, hold meetings, or go hunting.

"Only three kinds of carriage are allowed on the Lord's Day, that of sacred vessels, of provisions, and, in case of great necessity, of a body for burial.

"The women likewise must not weave, cut garments, sew, embroider, spin wool, beat flax, wash clothes in public, or cleanse sheep, so that in every way the honor and rest of the Lord's Day be observed.

"But let all men everywhere attend solemn Mass, and praise God for all the benefits He provides for us on that day" (80).

Fair readers may smile at some of the occupations of their sisters in the dominions of Charles eleven hundred years ago, and contrasting the past and the present, rejoice that they live in the nineteenth century and reap the benefits of a civilization largely promoted by that enlightened monarch.

But legislators and the clergy might take a hint from the clause relating to burials, which only "in case of great necessity" were permitted to take place on the Lord's Day. Would it not be well, and advantageous to the best interests of religion, to discourage Sunday funerals on the general principle of their violating the design of the Sabbath as a day of rest?

The concluding sentences of this extraordinary capitulary we give in full; they are addressed to all in authority, ecclesiastical or secular, and read as follows:

... "But be instant in your admonition as to the practice of the love of God and of our neighbor, of faith, and hope in God, of humility and patience, of chastity and continence, of kindness and mercy, of almsgiving and confession of sins, that, according to the Lord's Prayer, as men forgive so may they be forgiven, knowing most assuredly that they who do such things shall be partakers of the Kingdom of God.

"And this we enjoin the more diligently upon your love, because we know that in the last days false teachers shall come, as the Lord Himself foretold in the Gospel, and Paul the apostle testified to Timothy. Therefore, most dearly beloved, let us with all our heart abound in the knowledge of the truth, that we may the more effectually resist those who oppose it, and that by the grace of heaven the Word of God may grow, run, and multiply to the benefit of the Holy Church of God, the salvation of our souls, and the praise and glory of the name of our Lord Jesus Christ.

"Peace be to those who preach, grace to those who obey, and glory to our Lord Jesus Christ. Amen."

Turning for a moment to the "Instruction" the tenor of its first article commands attention. It reads as follows:

"Of lesser monasteries in which nuns reside without a 'Rule,' it is our will that they hold a regular congregation in one place, and that the bishop provide where it is to be done; likewise that no abbess presume to go outside such monastery without our command, or allow her place to be supplied by substitutes; moreover that their cloister be well secured, and that she presume under no circumstances to write or despatch love-letters. . . . (I., 3.)"

These startling provisions would be well-nigh inexplicable on the ground of general immorality, but their coincidence in point of time with the involuntary seclusion in lesser monasteries or convents of a number of royal and ducal ladies, sheds light on one of the bearings of the capit-

ulum. These matrons and maidens had feelings and attachments stronger than the strongest bolts of the most secure cloister. As it is there may lurk in the words of this capitulum many a tender secret, the knowledge of which might even now gladden the heart of minstrel or poet.

No apology is needed for these extracts, which better than any comment or speculation, lift the veil from the insipid, garbled, illogical, credulous, and often provokingly mysterious pages of the monastic annalists and chroniclers, who, with hardly an exception, wrote to glorify the omnipotent king of the Franks. They enable us to understand the spirit and drift of the times, enter clearly into the trials and hardships of the downtrodden people, and form an accurate estimate of the terrible despotism of Charles' reign as well as of the chief actors in the grand drama of his government.

The habits, vices, virtues, usages, superstitions, the very occupation and pastimes of all classes and conditions of men are reflected in the true mirror of these capitularies.

They were moreover often of a general character, and sent by special messengers throughout the Frankish dominions; there is also evidence that bishops, upon their return from a General Diet, set forth in their several dioceses special capitularies, applying, explaining, adapting, or amplifying the provisions of the General Capitularies for the special benefit of their jurisdiction. One such special capitulary, set forth by Theodulf, bishop of Orleans, to his presbyters contains about fifty titles bearing on a great variety of themes, such as matters of discipline and details of function, prescribing for instance the manner of their appearance as to dress, etc., at synods; forbidding the use of churches for secular purposes and sepulture; and enjoining his clergy on no pretence whatsoever to harbor a woman under their roof, even though she might be the cleric's own mother or sister, seeing that under the sanctity of such relationship strange females had been smuggled into clerical abodes; the clergy of his diocese were also forbidden to frequent taverns, etc.

Another of his capitularies is a compend of theological instruction, and a Directory for the Confessional, clearly intended for private circulation, and of dubious morality.¹

Soon after his coronation as Emperor of the West, Charles addressed, probably at the close of the session, to a legislative assembly composed of archbishops, bishops, abbots, and the most distinguished laics, the following admirable "Exhortation," which better than any commentary could do unfolds his religious character and his relations to the Church:

"Dearly beloved brethren: We are sent hither for your benefit in order that we may admonish you to lead a righteous and good life as to God, and follow justice and mercy as to this world.

"And, first, I admonish you to believe in One Almighty God, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit, the Perfect Trinity and the True Unity; the Creator of all things visible and invisible in whom we have salvation, and who is the Giver of all the good things we enjoy.

"Believe ye, that the Son of God was made man for the salvation of the world, and that He was begotten of the Holy Spirit out of the Virgin Mary; that for our salvation He suffered death, on the third day rose from the dead, ascended into heaven, and sitteth at the right hand of God; that He shall come to judge the quick and the dead and render to every man according to his works.

"Believe ye in One Church, that is, the congregation of good men throughout this earthly sphere; and know that they only can be saved and belong to the kingdom of heaven, who in the faith, communion, and charity of this Church persevere unto the end, while those who for their sins are excommunicated from this Church and fail penitently to return to the same, cannot in this world render acceptable service unto God.

"Be assured that in baptism you have received forgiveness of all your sins.

¹ They are printed in Migne, *l. c.*, CV., 19 sqq.

"Expect that of God's mercy through confession and penitence your daily sins are forgiven you.

"Believe in the general resurrection of the good unto eternal life, and of the evil unto eternal punishment.

"This then is your faith, through which you will be saved, if you firmly cleave thereto and abound in good works, for faith without works is dead, and works without faith, though they should be good, cannot please God.

"First then, love God Almighty with all your heart and with all your powers, and whatever ye know pleases Him, that do always, He being your helper, and as ye are able; shun what ye know displeases Him; for he that says that he loves God, and does not keep His commandments, is a liar. Love your neighbor as yourself; give alms to the poor as ye are able. Entertain strangers; visit the sick; be merciful to prisoners. Do ill to no man, nor consent unto such as do, for the receiver is as bad as the thief; forgive as ye hope to be forgiven; redeem the captive, help the oppressed, defend the cause of the widow and orphan; render righteous judgment; do not consent to any wrong; persevere not in wrath; shun excess in eating and drinking.

"Be humble and kind one to another; serve your lord faithfully; do not steal, do not perjure yourselves, nor let others do so. Envy, hatred, and violence¹ separate men from the Kingdom of God.

"Be swift to reconciliation; for to sin is human, to amend is angelical, but to persevere in sin is diabolical.

"Defend the Church and promote her cause, so that the priests of God may pray for you. Remember what you did promise unto God in baptism; you promised to renounce the devil through all his works; do not return to that you did renounce, but remain faithful to God as you did vow, and love Him who created you, and of whom ye hold all the good things ye have.

"Let every person in whatsoever station he be, serve God faithfully.

¹ *Violingue* = *violentiaque*?

"Let the wife be subject to her husband in all goodness and purity; let them abstain from fornication, rewards and avarice, for those who do such things go contrary to God.

"Let them bring up their children in the fear of God, and give alms, as they are able, with cheerfulness and a good will.

"Let the husband love his wife, and call her not by improper names; let him rule his house well, and in all goodness frequent church.

"Let men render unto men what they owe to them without grudging, and unto God what is due Him with a good will.

"Sons, love your parents and honor them. Let them not be disobedient; let them beware of theft, murder, and fornication; when they are of lawful age, let them marry a lawful wife, unless they prefer to enter the service of God.

"Let clerics, and canonici, diligently obey their bishops; let them not wander from place to place. Let them abstain from the entanglements of secular pursuits, maintain their chastity, study the Holy Scripture, and discharge the duties of their sacred ministry. Let monks be true to their calling, obey their abbot, and avoid filthy lucre. Let them remember and faithfully observe the Rule, knowing that it is better not to vow a thing, than to break a vow once made.

"Dukes, counts, and judges, I bid you judge the people righteously; be compassionate to the poor, abhor bribery, and let not personal considerations lead you to punish the innocent.

"Always remember the words of the Apostle: 'We must all appear at the judgment-seat of Christ, that each man may receive according to that which he has done, be it good or bad.' Even as our Lord has said: 'With what judgment ye judge, even so shall ye be judged.' That is, be merciful, that ye may obtain mercy of God. 'There is nothing hid but it shall become known, and nothing concealed but it shall be revealed.' And 'for every idle word we must give account in the day of judgment.'

"Whatever we do, let us endeavor in all things to please

God, that after this present life we may enjoy with the saints of God that which is everlasting.

"This life is short, and uncertain the time of death; it is wise to be always prepared.

"Let us remember that it is a fearful thing to fall into the hands of God. If we confess our sins, show penitence, and give alms, the Lord is merciful and kind.

"Yea, if we turn to Him with all our heart, He will be very merciful, and grant us in this life prosperity, and in that which is to come, everlasting happiness with His saints. God bless you, dearly beloved brethren!"¹

The consideration of two important theological questions, which came up in his reign, enables us to illustrate the relations of Charles to the popes.

The first was the heresy of *Adoptianism*,² or the doctrine that Jesus Christ as to His human nature was not truly the Son of God, but only His son by adoption; the dogma is also known as the *Felician heresy*, after Felix, bishop of La Seo de Urgel in the Pyrenees, one of its chief promoters.

It did not originate with him, however, but with Elipandus, bishop of Toledo,³ who had broached it more than a decade before it became generally known. Elipandus, it seems, addressed a letter to Felix asking "what he ought to think of the humanity of Christ, and if it were proper to believe and teach that He was truly the Son of God or only His adopted son?"

Felix replied agreeably to the well-known tenor of his opinion that "Jesus Christ, being a new man, must have a new name. As in our first generation according to the flesh we share the nature of Adam, so in our second, which is purely spiritual, we receive the grace of adoption by Jesus Christ, who partook of both natures, the one through his Virgin-Mother, the other in his baptism. Jesus Christ in

¹ MG. Leges, I., 101.

² Hefele, *Conciliengeschichte*, 2d ed. III., 643. Annal. Einh., Lauriss., cf. Maxim., and see for a full list of authorities, Simson, *l. c.* II., p. 29 sqq.

³ Ab Elipando, auctore noxii sceleris, etc.—Paulini Libell. c. Elip. ed. Madrisius, p. 1.—Al.

his humanity is the son of David and the son of God; now a man cannot have two natural fathers, therefore the one is natural, and the other his father by adoption. But adoption is nothing else than election, grace, etc., etc."¹

Both bishops were men of great worth; the bishop of Toledo was quite aged, and Felix enjoyed the reputation of singular piety.²

The controversy excited all Christendom, and even the annalists ring changes on the name of one of the bishops, lamenting that one with the excellent name of *Felix*, denoting happy, should be so unhappy in his speech.³ The notion was not at all original, but related to Nestorianism, and Ascaricus, another Spanish bishop, one of its chief advocates.⁴ It was warmly and ably controverted by the presbyter Beatus, and Etherius, bishop of Osma in Asturia.⁵

Pope Hadrian rebuked the Spanish bishops for teaching such damnable heresy and enjoined them to refrain;⁴ saying, that no man besides the perfidious Nestorius had ever dared to utter such blasphemy. But the Spanish heretics **792]** were deaf to his entreaty, and his protest remaining unheeded, Charles interfered and convened a Synod at Ratisbon,⁶ to take action in the matter. It was largely attended by bishops and other clergy from various parts of the "Christian empire," and the king presided in person.⁶

Felix, whose see lay within the Frankish dominions, was placed before the Council, required to state, and permitted to defend his views.⁷ They were unanimously condemned; the Council, moreover, demanded and obtained his recantation; it was complete, and he anathematized in writing all

¹ Annal. Einh. a. 792; Lauresh. a. 794. ⁴ Codex Carol. 99 (Jaffé, IV., 294 sq.).

² Alcuini, ep. 123; epp. 2, 30, 115, 122; Advers. Elip. I., 5; III. 20 (ed. Froben.). ⁵ Mabillon, *A. S.*; IV., 600; praef. III., *Annal. Ben.* II., 273.—Alcuin. adv. Felicem, I., 8.—Simson, *l. c.*, II., 32, n. 4.

³ Annal. Lauresh.—The pun or play was a sort of standing joke. Thus Jon. Aurelian has, "Felix nomine, actu infelix;" and Hincmar writes, "Felicem, infelicem . . . episcopum." ⁶ Annal. Einh., Maxim., al. a. 792. Alc. adv. Elip. (ed. Froben.) I., 3, p. 882.

⁷ Alc. *l. c.*, Annal. Einh., Maxim.

who should dare to say that our Lord Jesus Christ was as to the flesh only the Son of God by adoption.¹ Nor did this recantation suffice, for Charles, who eschewed half work, caused many of the writings of Elipandus and Felix to be burned,² required Felix to make his peace with the Church at large, and for that purpose sent him, in charge of Angilbert, to Rome.

There, it seems, he was held in confinement, and, under the godly instruction of Hadrian, drew up an orthodox declaration in which he again recanted absolutely his former opinion, and confessed that our Lord Jesus Christ is truly the Son of God. This his belief he then attested in a solemn oath before the pope, his orthodox declaration having been placed first upon the "sacred mysteries" of the Gospels, and then upon the apostle's tomb; that is, he swore twice.³ Then in full reconciliation with the Church, he returned to his Pyrenean diocese⁴—and preached his heresy as lustily as ever.

794] Two years later took place the famous Synod of Frankfort, over which Charles again presided.⁵ Two papal legates (the bishops Theophylact and Stephanus), the whole hierarchy of Francia including that of Italy, Aquitaine, and the Provence, together with a large number of presbyters, deacons, subdeacons, and monks were in attendance.⁶

At the king's express desire, the Synod by a unanimous vote received Alcuin to its fellowship and prayers.⁷

¹ Annal. Einh., Juvav. (791); Lauriss., Alcuin. *l. c.*, Poeta Saxo, V., 469 sq.—Concil. Rom. a. 799.

² Annal. Maxim.

³ Annal. Lauriss.;—Concil. Rom. a. 799; Adon. Chron., Bouquet, V., 320. Some think that "orthodoxum in vinculis libellum," does not necessarily imply imprisonment, but indicates a local reference, viz.: to *San Pietro in Vincoli* (?).

⁴ Annal. Einh.—Some say that Felix upon his return to Spain fled into Saracen territory; this is not improb-

able, for the sequel seems to intimate that though he returned to Spain, he was not reinstated into his see.—Alc. adv. Elip. I., 16 ed. Froben. I., 3, p. 882;—Concil. Rom. a. 799.

⁵ Ep. conc. Franc., Migne, t. CI., p. 1331; but the Annal. Lauriss. only state that the Synod took place "in praesentia principis."

⁶ Simson, *l. c.* II., 63 sq.; Böhmer-Mühlbacher, *l. c.* p. 125.

⁷ Synod. Franconof. (a. 794) 56. Cf. *Capitulare* No. II., Book III., ch. I., below.

The primary object for which this great Council had been convened was the condemnation of the heresy of Adoptianism.¹ The condemnation of the doctrine, and the recantation of Felix, so far from extinguishing the pestilent error, had caused it like an angry boil to throb and gather with increasing violence.²

It seems that the Spanish bishops in vindication of their dogmatic position set forth two documents, one addressed to the Frankish hierarchy, the other to the king; they desired the Synod to examine and debate it before Charles, and conjured him to reinstate Felix into his see; they even had the audacity of warning him against the fate of Constantine, who after his conversion to Christianity through the influence of his serpent of a sister turned Arian and went to hell.³

This was a little strong and as unpalatable to the king as to Hadrian, to whom he forthwith referred the matter. The result of the reference was the Synod of Frankfort, which took up the Spanish memorial, sentence by sentence, and ultimately by a unanimous vote condemned the dogma as rank heresy.

Charles sent to the Spanish episcopal heretics three distinct essays on the condemned dogma, one of which, at least, together with the synodal resolution, was duly signed by all the Frankish bishops present.⁴ His own epistle accompanying the documents, stated that he fully shared the conclusions reached by his clergy, notifying them, that in the event of their persistence in error, he must treat them

¹ Annal. Einh., al. see Simson, *l. c.* II. p. 67.

² The words of Charles according to the Libell. sacrosyll. of Paulinus (Op. ed. Madrisius, p. 1); Chron. Moiss. cod. Anian. MG. SS., I., 301.

³ See the epistle to Charles in Florez, *España sagrada*, V., 539 sqq. (Migne t. XCVI., p. 867 sqq.), and that to the hierarchy in Migne, t. CI., p. 1321; both in Alc. Opp. ed. Froben., II., App. 2, p. 567 sqq.—“reminiscens et illud, quod omnipotens Deus a vobis

longe efficiat, de Constantino imperatore, qui dum esset idolatriæ cultor per beatum Sylvestrium factus est christianus, postea per serpentem sororem suam sanctorum trecentorum decem et octo sententiam refutans, in Ariano dogmate et ad infernum flenda ruina dimersus, diem clausit extremum.”—Migne, XCVI., 869.

⁴ Annal. Lauriss., Einh. a. 794. See Simson, *l. c.* and Mühlbacher for full lists of authorities.

as heretics and refuse all further intercourse with them. He also pointed out to them the inevitable secular disabilities and inconveniences of their schismatic separation from the unity of the Church, which would render it impossible for him to carry out his intention of delivering them, at a favorable juncture, from the yoke of Moslem domination.¹

But Adoptianism was far from extinct; five years later the new pope, Leo III., spoke of it as sprouting with renewed vigor.²

The Spanish bishops in the Moslem territory remained toughly heretical. Alcuin addressed himself to the task of rooting out the heresy; he wrote to Felix, and drew up a collection of passages from the Scriptures and the Fathers, condemnatory of the error, which he sent to the abbots and monks of Gothia. Felix replied at length in a strong pamphlet, and sent a copy to the king. It was so intensely and dangerously heretical, that Alcuin while urging the necessity of a thorough and exhaustive refutation, frankly admitted his inability to do it unaided, and proposed that copies of the pamphlet should be sent to the pope, the patriarch Paulinus of Aquileia, the archbishop of Treves (Richbodo), and the bishop of Orleans, with the request that they also should draw up and submit their refutations.³

Charles acted upon his suggestion, and, moreover, requested the pope to convene an ecclesiastical Synod for the express purpose of passing sentence on the book of Felix. It met and condemned it, by irrefragable proofs from the Scriptures and the Fathers, *in perpetuum*.⁴

But even this did not end the matter. The king gave Felix the assurance of personal safety and commanded his attendance at a Synod to be holden at Aix-la-Chapelle, to which Alcuin also had been summoned, for the purpose of

¹ Mansi, XIII., 901-906, cf. Cod. Caröl. 78, 79, 99 (Jaffé); Hefele, *l. c.* p. 631 sqq.

² Nunc magis ac magis crescendo pullulat.—Mansi, XIII., 1031.

³ Alc. epp. 99, 139, 142.

⁴ Alcuin. ep. 139; Mansi, XIII., 1029-1032; Pauli cont. Romana; Script. rer. Langob., p. 202. Cf. Jaffé, *Regest. Pontif. Rom.* p. 216.

stating his views, promising that they should not be assailed by violence, but by reason, and recognized, if they could not be refuted from the Fathers.¹ The disputation took place at a Synod in the presence of Charles, and a large number of bishops, priests, monks and nobles. The king sat in their midst and commanded Felix to dispute with Alcuin concerning the human nature of Christ.²

The intellectual combat is said to have lasted six *days* (some say so many *hours*), and ended in a grand victory for Alcuin. Felix admitted his defeat and recanted.³ The slippery nature of his former recantation, however, raised doubts as to the sincerity of the last; Felix and one of his presbyters, reputed to excel him in the obstinacy of heretical taint, were placed under the supervision of Laidradus, archbishop of Lyons, who was to test the reality of their conversion.

Felix drew up a written recantation, which he sent to the clergy and laity of his diocese of Urgel, in which he stated that as this time his return to the Catholic Church was not feigned but genuine, so he begged them to believe and confess as he had done.⁴

It is sad to record, that in spite of his written declaration, a parchment of his, found after his decease, revealed the fact that he died in the full bloom of his heresy.⁵

Elipandus also remained a heretic to the last. The famous work of Alcuin's against him, however, is said to have wrought wonders in the hands of Laidradus, Nifridius, and Benedictus, abbot of Aniane, who conducted so successful and eloquent a crusade against the noxious heresy, that Alcuin could report to Arno the conversion, in a short period, of twenty thousand heretics, bishops, priests, monks, laics and women.⁶

Returning to the Council of Frankfort, the second ques-

¹ Alc. epp. 132, 134, 135; Vita Alc. 7.

² Vita Alc. 7; adv. Eliph. I., 16; epp. 139, 132, 148.

³ Vita Alc. 7; epp. 147, 139.

⁴ Alc. ep. 147. cf. 148; 139; 141, n. 8.

⁵ Agobard, *Lib. adv. Felic.* I.—Ado. MG. SS., II., 320. See also Nouvelle Biographie Générale, t. XVII., p. 299; XV., p. 832 sq.

⁶ Alc. ep. 148.

tion under consideration presented, upon the whole, still greater difficulties than the heresy of the Adoptians.

787] The Church Council of Nicæa, consisting of five hundred and seventy-seven Eastern bishops, as well as two legates of Hadrian, claimed an œcumenical character, and commanded, on pain of the anathema, the worship or adoration of images.¹ Charles, upon receipt of the Canons of the Council from Constantinople, sent them to Britain, when Alcuin drew up a refutation of the injunction, and in the name of the Anglo-Saxon princes and bishops presented the same to the king of the Franks.²

The king then caused to be drawn up a capitulary in which the several points of the legislation of the Nicæan Synod which seemed to him objectionable were set up *seriatim* and accompanied by a rejection (*reprehensio*). They were based on the remarkable work, known as the "*Caroline Books*," which though set forth in his name, is on good grounds ascribed to Alcuin.

The opening sentence reads as follows: "Here beginneth the work of the most illustrious, excellent, and honorable (*spectabilis*) man Carolus, by divine command (*nutu*) King of the Franks, and with the help of the Lord ruler of Gaul, Germany and Italy, together with their adjoining provinces, against the Synod which stolidly or arrogantly has recently been held in the parts of Greece for the adoration of images."³

This striking title may inform the reader¹ that the contents are worthy of the mind of the great warrior, and defender of the Church, and their language is sufficiently emphatic to command respectful attention. The book deserves to be widely known, for it abounds in good sense, contains a scathing exposure of the peril to which the worship or adoration of images exposes the ignorant or superstitious masses, and affords a striking contrast of the sentiment of the Church speaking by Charles, with that of the Church whose lamentable corruptions led to the Reforma-

¹ Labbei Concil. VIII., 1202 sqq.—See the concluding paragraphs of the Nicæan Definition in "Illustrative Extracts," Appendix I.

² Annal. Nordhumb. 792. MG. SS. XIII., 155.

³ Jaffé, IV., 220; Hincmar. adv. Hinc. Laud. c. 20, Opp., II., 457.

tion, and necessitated on the part of all the participants in that movement the introduction into their confessions of faith of special articles directed against image-worship.¹

The king, moreover, opened communications on the subject of the Nicæan decrees with Hadrian, whose legates had taken part in the Synod, while he himself had expressed his approbation of their course. Charles sent the aforesaid capitulary by the hands of Angilbert to the pope, instructing that ambassador to explain it to Hadrian and move him to bring about the repeal of the objectionable decrees. In this he failed, for the pope took up the several articles of the capitulary giving to each *reprehensio* an appropriate *responsio*.

Only the last *capitulum*, in which the king writes: "We desire our apostolic lord and father, together with the whole Roman Church, to know that while agreeably to the tenor of the epistle which St. Gregory wrote to Serenus, bishop of Massilia, we permit any who may so desire, for the love of God and His saints, to set up (*formare*) images inside or outside the churches, we shall never coerce those, who object to worship them, nor allow those so inclined to break or destroy them, . . ." he identifies as emanating from Charles and praises accordingly.³

The turn he gives to the decrees of the Nicæan Council is characteristic; he had received them, he says, because they agreed with St. Gregory, and was constrained to receive them, lest the Greeks should relapse into error and the loss of their souls be laid to his charge. "But," he continues, "we have thus far forbore addressing the emperor on the subject of the Council and confined our 794] remarks to the suggestion that the work of restoration should not be done half; if they restored the images, they ought likewise to restore to the care and jurisdiction of St. Peter the episcopal and archiepiscopal dioceses together with our patrimonies,⁴ unlawfully alienated from

¹ Jaffé, *ML*, 220; Hincmar. adv. Hinc. Laud. c. 20; Opp., II., 457.

² Migne, *I. c. t.* XCVIII., col. 1248.

³ Alcuini ep. 33 (Jaffé).

⁴ Hadrian alludes to the action of Leo III., the Isaurian, who in response

us at the time of the destruction of the images. To this no answer has as yet been received, which shows," as Hadrian observes not without a touch of sarcasm, "that though converted on one point, they remain unconverted on two others.

"We therefore propose, if the matter commends itself to your judgment, in thanking the emperor for the restoration of the images, strenuously to exhort him to the restoration of the aforesaid episcopal and archiepiscopal dioceses and patrimonies, and in the event of his refusing such restitution, declare him, because of his stubborn perseverance in error, a heretic, etc., etc."¹

The pope's unwillingness to do his bidding in the matter of the obnoxious Nicæan decrees did not deter Charles from the prosecution of his purpose. The subject was taken up by the Council of Frankfort, which denied the œcumenical character of the second Council of Nicæa (falsely called by the Greeks the seventh Œcumenical or General Council), read and examined the acts of that pseudo-synod, and unanimously condemned its decrees concerning the adoration or worship of images, in these terms:

"On the question of the recent Council of the Greeks held at Constantinople,² touching the adoration of images, and the written declaration, that 'whosoever failed to render to the images of the saints the same service and worship which are paid to the Holy Trinity should be anathematized,' the very holy fathers of this Council absolutely reject and despise such service and worship, and unanimously condemn the same."³

to the ban of excommunication launched by Gregory III., under date Nov. 1, 731, against him and all other iconoclasts, caused the sequestration of the patrimonies of the Roman *Curia* in Calabria and Sicily, together with the alienation from her jurisdiction of the churches in Calabria, Sicily and the province of *Illyricum Orientale*.—Simson, *I. c.* II., 81 sq. n.

¹ Migne, *I. c.*, Col. 1292.

² Synod. Francof. 2; Chron. Moiss., Annal. Einh., Hincmar, *I. c.* call the Council the Synod of Constantinople, where it was to have been held, and where the last session took place.—Simson, *I. c.* II., p. 82.—See Hefele, *I. c.* III., 474, 693, n. 2; and Döllinger, in *Münchener hist. Jahrb.* 1865, p. 339.

³ Capit. a. 794, art. 2, in Migne, t. XCVII., c. 191. There is no doubt that

The action of the Council of Frankfort must have been embarrassing and painful to Hadrian, whose legates had authorized by their presence and votes the acts of two church synods as hopelessly irreconcilable and contradictory as those of Nicæa and Frankfort.

Two of the fifty-six *capitula* enacted by the Council of Frankfort are here singled out as illustrating the intelligent foresight and liberality of Charles; they are the thirty-third and the fifty-second; the former enjoining that everybody throughout the realm be taught and required to know the Catholic Belief concerning the Holy Trinity, the Lord's Prayer and the Creed; and the latter couched in this hortatory form:

"Let no one believe that God may be prayed to in only three languages; nay, the rather that God should be worshipped in every tongue, and that He will hear the prayers of men if they pray for just things."¹

These, and many other capitula and canons, demonstrate that if he was a bishop of bishops, he showed his superiority in liberal intelligence and a breadth of enlightenment alien to the minds and hearts of the vast army of bishops, priests and deacons, abbots and monks, who with very few exceptions, advocated a brainless, mechanical and vicarious religion, and were the worthy predecessors of a race of modern bigots holding that the Bible in the vernacular without tradition imperils the souls of men.

795] The death of Hadrian moved Charles to tears; he wept for him as a son might mourn for his father, or a friend bewail the loss of his dearest friend.² The cordiality of their friendship is indisputable; they thoroughly understood each other; they had often looked into each other's eyes; they had taken sweet counsel together, and though for

the "Caroline Books" fairly captured the Council, but it is only just to add that the Greeks nicely discriminated between absolute worship, *λατρεία*, due only to God, and relative worship, *προσκύνησις*, due to images. See the text in Labbei Concil. t. VIII., p. 1202 sqq.
¹ See *Capitulare* No. II., Book III., Ch. I., below.
² *Vita Caroli*, c. 19. Alc. ep. 61. Annal. Lauresh., Nordhumb. a. 795. Epist. Carol. 10.

several years past there had been an estrangement, neither the frequency of the pontiff's letters of complaint nor dogmatic differences could sever the bond of amity which linked them together.

The expression of his sorrow was touching; when he had stayed weeping for him, he ordered prayers to be said for him throughout his dominions, also the distribution of rich gifts from his private treasury among all the metropolitan churches, and of special memorials among the episcopal sees in Mercia and Northumberland, accompanied by his request of prayers for the repose of the soul of the departed pontiff, for himself, the stability of his empire, and the propagation of Christianity.¹

One of his epistles, that to King Offa, explaining the import of the said commemorative prayers, is here presented in full. It is very interesting and illustrates not only the personal piety of Charles as well as his tender friendship for Hadrian, but the habits and pursuits of Anglo-Saxons about the close of the eighth century.

Even then they were great travellers; some were doubtless devout pilgrims, others resembled those so charmingly described by Chaucer, and a goodly number of them, addicted, like modern Englishmen, to commercial pursuits.

"Charles, by the grace of God, King of the Franks and Lombards, and Patrician of the Romans, to the venerable man, his dearly beloved brother Offa, King of the Mercians, greeting.

"First of all we thank Almighty God for the purity of the Catholic Faith so laudably cultivated in your letters.

"Passing to the case of travellers, who, impelled by the love of God, and for the salvation of their souls, desire to visit the tombs of the blessed Apostles, it is ordered that they may proceed thither in peace without let or hinderance.

"Such, however, among them as may travel not for religious purposes but for gain, must pay the tolls where they are established.

¹ Alc. epp. 57, 58, 61.

"Merchants, likewise, by our express command, and throughout our realm, are guaranteed the protection of the law, and the right of appeal to ourselves or our judges, and in the event of unjust oppression we shall enjoin that full justice be meted out to them.

"We also desire to notify your Love, that in token of our good will we have commanded the distribution throughout the several episcopal sees in your realm, and in that of Ethelred,¹ of dalmatics and pallia, in pious commemoration of the Lord Apostolic Hadrian, with the request that you will command intercession to be made for him, not because of any doubt as to the repose of his blessed soul, but as a mark of our faith and an expression of our affection for our dearest friend.

"We have, in like manner, commanded that part of our earthly treasure, with which the Lord Jesus has graciously enriched us, be sent to the metropolitan cities, and that to your Love be presented a belt, a Hunnish sword, and two Syrian pallia."²

Hadrian, who held the apostolic chair for the space of twenty-three years, ten months, and seventeen days, died on the twenty-fifth of December, 795.

What he was to the Church is set forth in the summary of the Catholic writer, in whose opinion his long pontificate was one of exceptional prosperity, though rather in the material than the spiritual triumphs of the Church.

He states that the cordial, ready, potent, and magnanimous protection of Charles caused the authority of the Church of Rome to be universally respected; that infidel races were converted to Christianity; that the perfidy of the Lombards was duly punished; the pride of the Greeks, and the insolence of their abettors, signally rebuked. The evangelical splendor of the Cross, he adds, could not be dimmed or obscured under the long duration of the galling yoke of the Greeks which sorely oppressed the Church, or under the pressure of the oft-repeated investment of Rome

¹ King of Northumbria a. 774-796.

² Epistol. Carol. II (Jaffé).

by the Lombards, which wrung from her the plaints of sorrow. When the heavens were overcast with darksome clouds, yea at the very height of the sable gloom, the sun rose from behind them in all the strength of his effulgent glory, even at the bidding of Him, whose mighty voice laid the tempest on the lake of Galilee, and bade the roaring, tumultuous sea hold its peace and be still.

What Hadrian *was*, how he thought and felt, has in part been sketched on preceding pages, and may be read in full in a number of his letters which have come down to us and are contained in almost all the Collections. What he *did*, partly as dispenser of the prodigal benefactions of Charles, partly as that of his own munificence for the cult and glory of the Church in the city of Rome, is given at great length in the pages of his biographer.¹

Charles commanded the epitaph of Hadrian to be chiselled with gilt letters in a slab of black marble, and sent it in ornamentation of his tomb to the city of Rome, where it remains to this day not far from the principal portal of St. Peter's.²

The thought and feeling of this fine tribute to the memory of Hadrian are doubtless those of Charles, but the phrase and metre are Alcuin's. The epitaph of Theodulf excels it in poetical merit, but that which Charles approved and adopted as his own belongs to these pages.³

¹ Anastasii Bibl. S. *Adrianus*, Migne, CXXVIII., 1181 sqq.—Baronius, IX., 543 sqq.

² Annal. Lauresh. a. 795; Nordhumbr. a. 794.

³ Dümmler, *Poet. Lat. ævi Carol.* I. 101; Theodulf, *Carm.* ibid. I., 489 sq.; cf. p. 101. My version follows the text of Labbe, *Concil.*, VIII., 20.

Epitaph.

Here sleeps the famous chief, and ornament of Rome,
The Father of the Church, Pope Hadrian the blest;
Whom God gave life, the Law his virtue, glory Christ.
An apostolic father to goodness always prompt;
Of grand ancestral line a noble scion he,
More noble than they all, through holiness became.
A faithful pastor with untiring zeal who strove
The temples of his God in beauty to array.
The Church with choicest gifts, with sacred love the flock

Imbued, and unto all the way beyond the stars he traced.
 His bounty blessed the poor, his goodness passed by none,
 In ceaseless vigils for the flock his prayers arose.
 With learning, wealth, and walls thy battlements he reared,
 Thrice honor'd Rome ! chief city through the world renowned.
 Grim death, by that of Christ redeemed, could hurt him naught,
 And proved to him but gateway to the better life.
 O father, thee beweeeping, I Charles these lines have writ,
 For thee, sweet love and father mine, with sorrow bowed.
 Remember me, whose mind forever follows thee,
 When thou with Christ the blissful realms above shalt sway.
 The clergy, all the Church, in love did thee enshrine,
 O best of pontiffs, who to all wast all their love.
 Illustrious man, our names and titles now I join,
 Aye Hadrian and Charles the King, the pontiff thou.
 Kind reader of these lines, with loving heart for both
 In pray'r engage, and gently Miserere say.
 This tomb, O dearest friend, thine earthly frame doth hold,
 The while thy happy soul with Saints of God delights,
 Until the final trump within thy ears shall sound :
 "Awake ! with princely Peter rise thy God to see ;"
 When sure, I know, the Judge with loving voice will call :
 "Into thy Lord's surpassing joy now enter thou."
 Then best of fathers all, thy son bear thou in mind ;
 "A son should join his father," say, "And this is mine."
 To Christ's celestial realms, blest father, lead the way,
 With intercessions thence thine orphaned flock to aid,
 The while his fiery locks the sun resplendent shakes,
 Thy praises, Holy Father, throughout the world shall sound.

This pope of blessed memory filled the pontifical chair XXIII. years, X. months, and XVII. days, and died on the VII. Kalends of January.

CHAPTER XIII.

CHARLES AND LEO III.

Leo III., pope.—Rumors.—Conspiracy against him.—His miraculous recovery.—He visits Charles at Paderborn.—Conjectures.—Leo reinstated.—Preparations.

795] THE unanimous election, on the very day of Hadrian's burial, of his successor, Leo III., was extraordinary and, many thought, miraculous.

He was a native of Rome ; from early youth an inmate of the Lateran ; skilled in music ; familiar with the Holy Scriptures and the ritual of the Church.

Leo took minor orders, and was soon advanced to the priesthood. He bore a good reputation, while his pure life, eloquence, and manliness, allied to pleasant manners and affability, made him a general favorite ; secured his election as pope by the unanimous vote of all the bishops, nobles, clergy, and people of Rome on St. Stephen's Day ; and his episcopal consecration on the next day, St. John's Day, which fell on Sunday.¹

796] His first act was the despatch of legates to Charles with letters announcing his election, expressing his obedience and fidelity, and bearing the keys of St. Peter, the standard of the city of Rome, and presents. He likewise desired Charles to send one of his chief officers to Rome with authority to receive the oath of fidelity and obedience on the part of the people.²

Charles was delighted with this unusual act of deference, and sent Angilbert, one of his most confidential and familiar officers, with a letter and a large share of the Avar spoils.

The letter explains that the presents were ready to be

¹ Vita Leonis III. ; Epist. Carol. 10. ² Ep. Carol. 10.—Annal. Einh., a. 796.

forwarded to Hadrian, when the intelligence of his death caused a delay; it congratulates Leo on the unanimity of his election; appries him that Angilbert is authorized to confer with him on all matters touching the glory of the Church, the dignity of the pontifical office and his own patriciate; and exhorts him to enforce the Canons.

In one place he writes: "As I made a league of sacred confraternity with your sainted predecessor, so I desire to form with your holiness an inviolable compact of the like faith and love. It is my duty, by the grace of God, to defend the Church of Christ everywhere: against the assaults of pagans or the ravages of infidels, which may threaten her from without, and to exert all my power towards the stability of the Catholic Faith in my realm. It is yours, most holy father, like Moses to lift up your hands in prayer to God for the success of my arms. . . ."

"In your wisdom you will not fail everywhere to enjoin and enforce the commandments and statutes of the Fathers, so that the shining example of your holiness in such godly conversation may be known to all men, while your saintly admonitions fall on willing ears; yea, let your light so shine before men that they may see your good works, and glorify your Father who is in heaven."

Charles must have had some private information leading him to fear that matters at Rome might not run as smoothly as Leo seemed to think they would. His private and confidential letter instructed Angilbert to remind the holy father of the duties of his office, both as to his morals and the maintenance of canonical authority in the godly conduct of church government.

"Tell him often," he writes, "that the honors of those clothed with the sacred office last but a few years, but the reward of those who well discharge its duties, is eternal. Press upon him the necessity of abolishing the heresy of simony, so grievously defiling the Church in many parts, and of correcting all other abuses which we have so often bewailed together."¹

¹ Ep. ad Angilb. ib. p. 353.

It is thought that the expense of a large number of vases and rich ornaments, made by order of Leo in the beginning of his pontificate, for the Roman churches, was defrayed by the royal offering of part of the Pannonian spoils.

Among those works of art was the grand banquet-hall in the Lateran, all in marble, and richly ornamented with columns and mosaics. One of the latter, still shown, represents St. Peter seated, with three keys on his knee, Leo on his right and Charles on the left, in the act of presenting to the pope a pallium, and to the king a standard with six roses, inscribed: "May St. Peter grant life to Pope Leo, and victory to King Charles."¹

This mosaic was the pendant of another, on the opposite end of the hall, representing Christ delivering to Peter (or Pope Sylvester) two keys, and to Constantine the Great a standard.

799] Leo's popularity was of short duration. A revolutionary outbreak directed against his person occurred in the third year of his pontificate. Two papal officers, to wit, the primicerius Paschalis, and the sacellarius Campulus, together with many Roman nobles, had entered into a conspiracy against the pope.

Paschalis was a nephew of Pope Hadrian, and Campulus was personally known to Charles.² The causes of the conspiracy are not established. It was alleged by the partisans of Leo, that he incurred the hatred of the Romans from his stern opposition to their contemplated revolt from Frankish rule, and that the promoters of the plot were moved by jealousy; on the other hand the opponents of Leo charged that his notorious adultery, perjury, and other crimes, provoked the revolt.³

It is certain that Leo continued hateful to the Romans to the last.⁴

¹ Anastas., *I. c.*

² Annal. Einh.; Vita Leonis, III.; Cod. Carol. 62, 68; Epist. Caroli. 10.

³ See the authorities in Simson, II., 165, n. and below, pp. 348, sqq., 364.

⁴ His position, even after his res-

toration, was most unpleasant. In 804 he was glad of a convenient temporary escape from the city; nine years later another conspiracy against him was suppressed with blood, and during his sickness the people rose in

On the twenty-third day of April, being St. George's Day, the Great Litany was chanted in the church consecrated to his memory, which, two days later, on St. Mark's Day, was ordered to be concluded in the Church of St. Laurentius *ad craticulam*, that is, of the gridiron.

The pope was riding in the procession of the "black crosses," instituted by St. Gregory, and the aforesaid Paschalis and Campulus ought to have taken their places in it, but arriving after it had formed, the former without his *planeta*, apologized to Leo on the hypocritical plea of sickness and other excuses, but accompanied him in friendly discourse.

Meanwhile the rest of the conspirators had taken up a concealed position near the monastery of Saints Stephen and Sylvester which lay in the way of the procession. When it came up, a band of assassins rushed from their hiding place into the thick of the unarmed people who were following the pope. They terrified, and speedily dispersed the populace, made their way to Leo, Paschalis standing before, and Campulus behind him, seized him, tore him from his seat, threw him to the ground, and cruelly beat and plundered him. It was their *intention* to put out his eyes, cut off his tongue, and even—kill him. Some witnesses declared, and the perpetrators of the outrage are reported to have believed, that the double mutilation *was* really accomplished; at any rate, the conspirators left him where he lay in the street, naked and half dead.

The papal account adds, that when the assassins had gone, Paschalis and Campulus dragged Leo into the conventual church of Saints Stephen and Sylvester, trying to complete before the altar of the same the mutilation which had only been imperfectly performed in the street.

At night, the same high officials, together with Maurus de Nepi, an accomplice, caused him to be removed to the monastery of St. Erasmus where he would be in safe keeping (for it was a prison), and might recover from his wounds.

arms, plundered his farms, and set them on fire.—Monach. Sangall. I., 26; Annal. S. Amandi; Lauresh. a. 800. Simson, *l. c.* II., 166.

In that place, as some say (or on the way to it, as others affirm), a miracle was wrought, for the maltreated pontiff recovered the use both of his tongue and eyes. Some actually fable of a double miracle, alleging that Leo had recovered the use of the missing members on the way to the monastery, when his cruel enemies deprived him absolutely (*radicitus*) both of his tongue and eyes. Then, according to the Monk of St. Gall, the divine vindicator of his innocence replaced the eyes, thus cruelly removed by wicked hands, with others more beautiful than the first, except that the mark of his virtue remained in a most beautiful wound like a delicate thread of snowy whiteness distinctly visible on the pupil.¹

Albinus, the chamberlain of Leo, came by night, probably with other faithful dependants, and enabled the sacerdotal captive by means of a rope to leave his monastic prison. This exit becomes in the hands of one of the scribes another miracle, and in those of a third truly apostolic, for he makes him, like St. Paul, descend by the *city* wall. His deliverers took him to St. Peter's where two royal *missi*, to wit, Wirundus, abbot of Stablo, and Winigisus, duke of Spoleto, received him. The latter, apprised of the outrage, forthwith collected a body of troops, hastened before the city (St. Peter's then stood without the walls) and conducted the pope to Spoleto.

The rebels, it is added, resented the action of the devoted chamberlain, and having nothing else to do, attacked his house, plundered, and destroyed it.²

Messengers from Leo, the royal *missi*, and not improbably **799**] from others,³ hastened to inform Charles of the occurrences at Rome. It is not certain, though highly probable, that the exigencies of the case and public pressure moved Leo to invoke the royal aid.

¹ Monach. Sangall. I., 26. MG. al. Compare for a minutely circumstantial examination of the attempt on SS., II., 743. Leo, *Excursus I.*, in Simson, *l. c.* II., 583.

² Vita Leonis; Annal. Maxim., Lauresh., Theophan. Chronogr. (Bouquet, V., 188); Annal. Einh., Lauriss. ³ See p. 346, line 1, sqq.

According to a poetic version, the king sees in a vision the mutilated pontiff, supplicating his protection, and sends three messengers to Rome. The pope summons them to Spoleto, bidding them conduct him to the king in order that he might examine and avenge his cause; they honor his request and conduct him to Germany.¹

According to history, Charles immediately commanded the pope to be conducted to him, and designated his archchaplain Hildibald, archbishop of Cologne, and count Ascarius as special commissioners to meet and escort him;² it would seem, however, that it was the king's first impulse to hasten to Rome in person, but that he changed his mind, because he felt that he could not omit his contemplated journey into Saxony, which was then undergoing the process of pacification.³

As for Leo, he travelled, doubtless under military escort, furnished by the duke of Spoleto, and attended by a goodly number of bishops, presbyters, and nobles (*primatibus*).⁴ His progress excited universal attention, and stirred up the religious enthusiasm of the people wherever he went; multitudes came forth to kiss his feet, gaze upon his new eyes, listen with enraptured emotion to the words he uttered with his new and heaven-sent tongue, and enrich him with their gifts.⁵

What took place in Germany is best told in the language of the poem, which is generally ascribed to the pen of Angilbert, who from his confidential and intimate relations to Charles, and personal acquaintance with most of the actors, and knowledge of the localities, could write more intelligently on the subject than any one else. Still it is proper to preface his account with a caution; he writes poetry, and the reader should remember that a *penchant* for picturesque embellishment and an exuberant fancy guided his hand; he exaggerates, but that is poetic license.

¹ Angilbert, Carm. vv. 332 sqq. 342, 376, 400, p. 374 sqq.

⁴ Annal. Maxim., Lauriss. min.; Liber pontific. (V. Leonis III., p. 198.)

² Ann. Einh. Vita Leon.

⁵ V. Leon. *ib.*; Angilbert, *l. c.* v.

³ Alcuini Ep. 118; Annal. Einh. a. 799.

His description is substantially as follows: "When Charles heard that the papal procession was drawing near, he sent his son Pepin, King of Italy, at the head of an army of a hundred thousand (?) men to meet him. The spectacle of so vast a multitude of armed men was overwhelming; the pope lifted his hands to heaven, invoking the divine blessing on the Franks. When he came up to Pepin he clasped him to his heart, tenderly embraced and kissed him. Then the pope and Pepin walked side by side to meet the king; the venerable hero forthwith ordered the entire host under arms, saying to his brave veterans: 'Go as you are wont to go into battle and give martial greeting to the pontiff!'

"The host is profoundly moved; a forest of spears, thrice-leashed cuirasses, helmets, javelins, and shields, sways to and fro; the clash of the brazen shields resembles the voice of thunder; the cavalry sweeps round as to a charge; the air is dark with clouds of dust, and vocal with the clangor of trumpets, and the shrill tones of bugle signals; the very ground seems to tremble under the hoofs of the fierce chargers; in the midst of the concourse wave the bright banners, and the multitudes in motion are eager to hear the pontiff's voice; a burning desire seems to enter the very marrow of their bones. . . .

"At the extremity of the camp the whole army is ordered to halt: the clergy in large numbers, arrayed in sacerdotal costume, form into three companies or choirs, ranging themselves under the sacred banner of the cross in an inner circle, round which in ever-widening lines the whole army is disposed like a city wall; in the very centre, overtowering all the rest, Charles awaits the pontiff.

"Leo beholds with wondering eyes the magnificent spectacle of that vast multitude, representing so many nationalities collected from all quarters, compacted together, so different in appearance, speech, uniform, and arms; it is an overwhelming sight; he looks hither and thither, and beholds Charles coming forth; he lies prostrate in lowly veneration, and rising, gives him a tender, loving welcome in cordial embrace.

"The king and the pontiff join hands, and walk together, engaged in earnest and affectionate conversation. At a signal the entire army, thrice in succession, falls prostrate before the pope, to be enriched with his prayers and benediction thrice bestowed.

"Again Charles, the father of Europe, and Leo, the sovereign pontiff, move forward; the king desires to know the story of his trouble; the wickedness of the Roman people astounds and horrifies him; he beholds with amazement the light stream forth from the windows that had been bereft of it, and catches in wonderment the accents of the tongue which the cruel forceps had torn out."

At this point the choirs of the priests sing their antiphons of praise for his marvellous restoration; the earnest and loud strains of their chants make the welkin ring.¹

Under the guidance of the blessed Charles the pope enters the church and celebrates Mass. . . .

At the conclusion of the sacred office, the pope is led to a magnificent repast; the *sedilia* are ornamented with purple and gold; the king and the pontiff, the Court, and the glittering host of grandees sit down and feast upon the rich and abundant provisions of that royal banquet;

¹ "Exoritur clamor, vox ardua pulsant Olympum," may be illustrated by the following passage, in which an Italian, with an educated ear, comments upon the musical performances of the transalpine clergy. He says, that like other European nations, the Germans and Gauls had repeatedly essayed the mastery of the superior merits of the Gregorian Chant, but their attempts were failures partly from carelessness in mixing up with it their own methods, and partly from their natural wildness; for "the bodies of the transalpines who are wont to emit a thundering noise with their voices, cannot reproduce the sweet modulations which are sung to them for imitation, because the bar-

barous wildness of their drunken throat seeks in vain to utter by means of artificial contortions and resonances the soft tones of a melodious voice; the stiff sounds they send forth resemble the roll of distant thunder or the confused noise of a number of empty barrels in rotary motion, whose roughness instead of delighting, irritates and confuses the minds of the hearers." Who can fail to recognize in this description the familiar beer voices of the opera, the concert room, and "horresco referens," of the cathedrals of continental Europe, Great Britain, and even of minor churches elsewhere? See the whole passage in Joann. Diacon., *Vita Gregorii M.* c. VI. in Opp. Gregor. T. II., p. 47.

on all the tables the fiery Falernian is served in golden bowls.

"King Charles and the sovereign pontiff are seated by themselves, and feast together; they quaff bowls full of sparkling wine in long delicious draughts. The exquisite food and sweet cups of Bacchus come to an end; pious Charles presents many gifts to Leo, and in happy mood, withdraws to the inner chambers of the palace, while the apostolicus retires to his camp."¹

Thus hilariously, humorously, and quaintly, run the verses of the courtly Angilbert, who plainly recalls the festive scene with pleasant recollections. His verses show in numerous verbal coincidences an intimate knowledge of Virgil, and afford a lively insight of the manners and usages of the Frankish Court. The peculiar turn of the "apostolicus" expresses familiarity, and unless the language is to be taken literally, the manner in which the miraculous restoration of the windows and the tongue of the pontiff is told, seems to insinuate a doubt both in the mind of Charles and in his own.

Leo spent some time at Paderborn, where the meeting took place. The church in which he celebrated Mass had a peculiar history. As far back as 777, Charles caused a church to be built there in honor of the Saviour, which the fierce pagans repeatedly set on fire and destroyed. But his will and zeal being stronger than their hatred and violence, he built a much larger church and had it consecrated. Leo consecrated one of the altars, and deposited therein the relics of St. Stephen, the proto-martyr, which, at the express desire of Charles, he had brought from Rome, assuring the king that the virtue of the relics would protect the church from a repetition of such a calamity in the future.

This was a safe prophecy so far as the pagan Saxons were concerned, who had already ceased to be an object of terror, and would soon be placed beyond the reach of possible harm; they never set that church on fire thereafter—

¹ Angilberti Carmina dubia, in Poetae Latini Med. Aevi. I. 1, 377 sqq.

but the relics were not an absolute insurance against it, for it burnt down in A.D. 1000.¹

The enemies of Leo, however, were not idle; the report of his distinguished reception by Charles roused the worst passions of "those wicked sons of the devil," as the biographer of Leo calls them; they set on fire the pontifical domains, and would fain have consumed him by means of the terrible accusations against him which they sent to the king. They were doubtless greatly exaggerated, but too grave to be disregarded. Where there is so much smoke, men said, there must be some fire. The charges of adultery, carnal or spiritual, and perjury, were freely circulated, and not entirely disbelieved at the Court.

Even Alcuin, who appears as the staunch friend of Leo, seems to have been not altogether incredulous as to their truth. His information, moreover, came not from the conspirators, but from his friend Arno, archbishop of Salzburg, who had recently been at Rome, and in a confidential letter enumerated the complaints so injurious to the pontiff's morality. Alcuin in reply states, among other things, that he had burnt the letter, because he did not wish it to fall into other hands, lest through the negligence of his servants the contents might become known and the occasion of scandal.²

The matter of the abdication of Leo was freely discussed, and recommended by some as necessary; it was argued that the exigencies of the case required his withdrawal from the pontifical chair and retirement to a monastery. But Alcuin opposed the measure as unwise and mischievous, and his counsel prevailed.³

Charles finally decided that the charges should be investigated by a royal commission, and Leo reinstated to office.⁴

Pending these discussions, others, not of record, are believed to have taken place at Paderborn. The intercourse

¹ Annal. Einh., a. 799; Translatio S. Liborii, in MG. SS. IV., 150.

² Epist. Alcuini, 127 (Jaffé).

³ Ep. Alc. 120, 119.

⁴ Vita Leonis, III.; Flodoard, *De Pontif. Rom.* Murat. III. b., 284. Annal. Einh., Maxim., al.

between the king and the pope led to important results. It would be strange if the political aims of Charles had not been freely and confidentially unfolded to Leo. History, with one exception, is silent on the subject. Still it is impossible to resist the conviction that elevation to imperial dignity had long filled the mind of Charles.

It had doubtless been discussed orally, and otherwise, with Hadrian. William of Malmesbury expressly affirms that Hadrian often proposed it to the king of the Franks, but on conditions, which the latter thought exorbitant and unacceptable.¹

The nature of these conditions is clearly intimated in one of Hadrian's epistles, still extant. He writes, "that if Charles would restore to the Church the possessions which Constantine, the patricians, and other godly benefactors had granted to her, the nations of the earth would exclaim: 'O Lord, save the king, and hear us in the day when we call upon thee,' for a new emperor of God, a most Christian Constantine has risen in these days," adding that "St. Peter, the prince of the Apostles, could not pray before the throne of God for the prosperity, long life, and exaltation of the king, or the majesty of his divinely established dominion, until such restoration had been made."²

That was Hadrian's price, which Charles would not, and could not pay. It meant the renunciation of his own sovereignty in Italy, and the exaltation of *his* vassal, or, more accurately in point of law, of the Greek emperor's vassal, to temporal sovereignty.

On that point Charles remained inflexible, and when Hadrian died, Leo, as has been explained before, succeeded him in the same capacity of vassal, and actually desired the king to send commissioners that they might administer the oath of allegiance to the Roman people.

Then followed the incidents which led to the pontifical presence at Paderborn. In this connection it is now pertinent to read the statements of a contemporary:

¹ Wil. Malmesb. in MG. SS. X., 453.

² Ps. XIX., 10.

³ Cod. Carol. ep. 60 (Jaffé).

"At that time," he writes, "wicked men having conspired together against Leo III., pontiff of Rome, possessed themselves of his person. It was their purpose to put out his eyes, and in the tumult which broke out among themselves, as it often happens, slightly hurt one of his eyes. The pontiff thereupon fled to King Charles for protection, promising, that if he would defend him from his enemies, he, for his part, would crown him with the imperial diadem. Charles, having heard the wished-for promise, immediately marched against the enemy with great power, took the city, and reinstated Leo to office. Then he crowned Charles, and took a dignified revenge upon his enemies."¹

The concluding sentences of this passage are not accurate, but they may pass for a loose statement in a condensed form. The testimony of John the Deacon is not good, and the foregoing statement, in the opinion of thoughtful, learned, and judicious critics, not credible. They may be **799**] right, still few unbiased minds will read it in the light of what is known and established beyond all doubt, and deny its accuracy. The chronicler may have expressed himself boldly and set the matter down from hearsay rather than authentic sources, but he doubtless recorded what men said and thought of the subject.

Charles dismissed Leo as honorably as he had received him. A most distinguished escort of royal *missi* conducted him to Rome and reinstated him with every mark of honor, which rises in the phrase of one of the Annals to the "highest glory" into the pontifical chair. They were: the archbishops Hildibald and Arno, the bishops Cunipert, Bernhard, Hatto and Jesse, the bishop-elect Flaccus, and counts Helmgau, Rothgar, and Germar.²

He made his solemn entry into the city November 29th, under circumstances which in the eulogistic coloring of the Papal record exceeded in demonstrative enthusiasm the cordial and reverential greetings he had received on the journey. In the exuberance of their joy at his safe return

¹ Joh. Diac. Chronic. apud Murat. l. c. I., 2, p. 312.

² Annal. Lauriss. Maxim., Einh., Lauresh., Petav., Vita Leon. III.

all the ecclesiastical dignitaries, and the lower clergy, together with the nobles, senators, military, the entire people, the ladies sanctimonial, the deaconesses, the most noble matrons, and, in fine, the entire female population, likewise the united Schools of foreigners, to wit, Franks, Frisians, Saxons, and Lombards, went conjointly out to the Milvian Bridge, and with the banners and standards gayly waving, welcomed their pastor, and conducted him to St. Peter's, where Mass was said, and all took the Holy Communion.¹ On the next day they led him with similar demonstrations of joy into the city, and thus proceeded with him to the Lateran.

The royal *missi*, a few days later, assembled in the tricladium of that palace, and began their inquisition into the causes of the late rebellion. Paschalis, Campulus and their accomplices underwent a searching examination, and being unable to substantiate their charges against Leo, the Court, after remaining more than a week in session, ordered their arrest, and sent them to Charles.²

The king undertook, as stated on a previous page, the journey to the coast, and conferred on his circular tour to the Holy Places with Angilbert, Alcuin, and Theodulf. Soon after, in the month of August, 800, he acquainted the Diet, assembled in Mayence, with his intention of visiting Italy.

The ostensible reasons for his visit were: 1, the examination of the charges preferred against Leo, and in the event of their falsity, the punishment of the outrage; 2, the restoration of order and confidence at Rome and the regulation of the affairs of Italy in general; 3, the chastisement of Benevento.³

He would fain have had the company of Alcuin, and the benefit of his counsel in the important business which he had in hand. He begged him to exchange the smoky roofs of Tours for the golden palaces of Rome. But his saintly

¹ Anastas. apud Muratori, t. III., p. 198. ³ Vita Caroli, cc. 27, 28; Annal. Lauriss., Einh., al., Capitul. Italic

² Ibid. p. 198 sq.—Flodoard, *De pontif. Rom. ibid.* III. b., 284.

friend declined, saying he knew that Charles was familiar [was he personal?] with the excellent counsel of Solomon writ in Proverbs, xxi., 9.

"And I will say in all peace," he added, "that iron is more hurtful to the eyes than smoke. Tours with its smoked roofs is content, by divine permission and your kindness, to enjoy the blessings of peace, whereas Rome suffers from fraternal dissensions whose venom is still operative; but I trust that you, who have left your sweet German home with a view to destroy it, may be eminently successful in eradicating so hurtful a scourge."¹

Charles, by this time, had doubtless sounded, and others, themselves inspired, had inspired the pontiff on the providential leadings pointing so unmistakably to the necessity of a revival or restoration of the Roman empire in his person. There were many, and excellent reasons why such a restoration should take place.²

It was, moreover, a measure as familiar to the mind of Leo, who on prudential grounds would hardly have originated it, as to Angilbert, Alcuin, and Theodulf of Orleans, with all of whom Charles had just conferred in their homes. The view of Alcuin, communicated the year before soon after the Roman outrage, may have suggested, prompted, or justified the measure.

"The three highest persons in the world," he says, in substance, "are, first, the apostolic sublimity, wont to rule the chair of St. Peter; second, the imperial dignity and the secular power of New Rome; third, the regal dignity to which the goodness of the Lord Jesus Christ has advanced you, as the governor of Christendom.

"You are," says the Briton, in plain and suggestive speech, "superior to the other dignities in power, wisdom, and the glory of your kingdom. On you alone depends the salvation of the Church; you are the righteous judge that punishes the wicked; you are the guide of all that err from

¹ Migne, t. C., p. 331.

IV. lib. X. ch. XIV. Von der Herstellung der Kaiserwürde.

² They are well argued by Luden, *Geschichte des deutschen Volks*, vol.

the truth; you are the comforter of all that mourn, yea, you are the exceeding great rewarder of all good people."¹

Thus wrote the abbot of St. Martin's, and the poetic bishop of Orleans echoes the sentiment in the following lines:

"You are the righteous judge that punishes the wicked and rewards the good. Whatever you do, may it thus turn out by the favor of God. You are the shield of the pontiff, the hope and defence of the clergy, through you the pontiff wields his sacred office."²

Such language, from such men, and at such a juncture, was more than oratorical flourish; one feels tempted, in the absence of all authentic information on this instructing theme, to read between the lines, reason, speculate and even listen, for the nonce, to the tittle-tattle of the loquacious Monk of St. Gall. The saying of children and the other folk, whom one must not name, comes up, as one reads the story as it ran in the monastery, to wit, that his holiness, deeming it to be the will of God that the invincible Charles, already wielding imperial power and directing the destinies of most of the nations of the earth, ought, by and under apostolical authority, to be likewise endued with the names of Emperor, Cæsar, and Augustus, bade him come for that purpose to the city of Rome.³

¹ Alcuini Epist. no. 114 (Jaffé).

² Monach. Sangall. apud Bouquet, V., p. 117.

CHAPTER XIV.

THE CORONATION.

Reception of Charles at Rome.—Trial of Leo.—His exculpation.—Symbolical gifts from Jerusalem.—Debate on the restoration of the empire.—The Coronation: Charles crowned and anointed "emperor;" Charles the younger "king."—Offerings.—Statement of Einhard examined.—Judgment on the conspirators.—Imperial prerogatives at Rome.

800] IT is known that the expedition conducted by Charles and his son Pepin made a halt of only one week at Ravenna and proceeded to Ancona, whence Pepin, by command of his father, led it through the duchy of Spoleto and invaded Benevento, while Charles, with whom we are now concerned, continued the journey in the direction of Rome. On the twenty-third day of November he was met at Nomentum (the modern Mentana), situated at the fourteenth¹ mile-stone from the city, by Leo and the Roman Senate, who received him with great humility and honor. After a joint meal the pope returned to the city in order to make the necessary preparations for the reception due to the illustrious visitor, who spent the night at Nomentum.²

On the following day, all Rome hastened forth to greet their potent patrician; the road was lined with eager and enthusiastic multitudes, the native military, and the foreign Schools with their ensigns and standards, singing the customary *lauds*. The royal procession at last drew near to the venerable basilica of St. Peter, where Leo together with the hierarchy and clergy of the city awaited the king on the platform of the magnificent marble staircase.

Charles dismounted and solemnly ascended the stairs; Leo received him, offered a prayer of thanksgiving, and conducted him, amid psalms of praise, into the church.³

¹ Not the twelfth, as some of the annals state.—Nibby; Gregorovius.

² Annal. Lauriss., Einh., Maxim.; Chron. Regin., Moiss.

³ Annal. Lauriss., Einh.; V. Leon. III.

An entire week was devoted to rest, and probably to preliminary work connected with the impending trial. Then followed the opening session of the Great Synod which he had convoked; it consisted of the archbishops, bishops, abbots, presbyters, and deacons, together with the counts, and other Frankish nobles in attendance upon the king, as well as the Roman nobility and people. The Synod assembled in St. Peter's, and it is known that the archbishops of Mayence and Salzburg as well as the bishops of Orleans and Auxerre were present. The king's eldest son Charles and his daughters were also in Rome, but it does not appear that they attended the sessions of the Synod.¹

Charles, arrayed in the Roman costume of the patrician, to wit, a long tunic, a chlamys, and Roman shoes,² announced to the Synod the objects which had brought him to Rome, and charged it to investigate—doubtless under his own direction and presidency—the charges preferred against the pontiff.³ The account of the proceedings is confused, and, in some respects, contradictory.

There is no doubt that they were protracted,³ for the Synod met December 1st, and the solemn act of Leo did not take place until more than three weeks after. It was a most difficult matter; it was taken up first, and Charles entered into every detail with the greatest diligence.⁴ There is no reason to doubt that Paschalis and Campulus, together with their accomplices, were summoned to appear before the Court; that the former had been brought for the purpose from beyond the Alps,—and were probably put to torture, for the ominous word *quaestio* intimates as much.⁵

But they came only as witnesses then, for their own case was not taken up until after Christmas. Charles discovered that there was no valid, legal foundation for their charges, but that they sprang from envy.⁶

On the other hand it is distinctly stated, and probably

¹ Vita Leonis III., Annal. Lauresh., Lauriss., Einh.

² Vita Caroli, c. 23.

³ Annal. Lauriss., Einh., Maxim.

⁴ Annal. Lauriss., Einh., Maxim.

⁵ Annal. Einh. Lauresh.

⁶ Annal. Lauresh.

true, that the witnesses were cowed into silence; refused to testify against Leo; that none was willing to assume the burden of proof.¹

It is also an established fact that the powerful influence of Alcuin in favor of the pontiff made itself felt in the eloquent advocacy of his innocence by the archbishop of Mayence (Richulf) and the bishop of Orleans (Theodulf). And lastly, it is alleged, but not credible, that the archbishops, bishops, and abbots present, in response to the king's charge to adjudicate the case put in the plea of incompetency and with one voice exclaimed: "We dare not sit in judgment upon the chair of St. Peter, which is the head of all the churches of God; for that chair and its vicar is our lawful judge. That chair cannot be judged by any man, for thus it has been held from of old, and we are ready canonically to obey the pontiff, even as he may direct."²

Such a declaration, under the circumstances, and due regard being had to the relations of Charles to the popes and the Church at large, is inconceivable and seems to justify the conclusion, that the biographer of Leo is intentionally wrong.³

✓ But be that as it may, the result is unchanged, for the Synod did not pronounce a sentence; the charges against Leo were not proven, and it was left with him to clear himself of them by oath, yet so that the solemn act should appear to be strictly voluntary on his part.⁴

According to Anastasius, Leo said after the aforesaid declaration of incompetency: "I desire to tread in the footsteps of my predecessors, and am ready to purge myself

¹ Annal. Lauriss., Einh. Maxim., Enh. Fuld.

² Vita Leonis III., Migne, t. CXXVIII., 218.

³ So Döllinger, in Münch. n. Jahrb. für 1865. Simson, *l. c.*, II. 229, n. 1; see also Baxmann, *Die Politik der Päpste*, I., 314 sq.; and in favor of Anastasius, v. Reumont, *Geschichte der Stadt Rom*, II., 131, 150; Niehues,

Gesch. d. Verh. zwischen Kaiserthum u. Papstthum im Mittelalter, I., 587; Jacobs, *Qua via, etc.* p. 29, No. 4.—Cf. also Alcuini ep. 120 (Jaffé) and Concil. Sinuess. 303, Mansi I., 1257.

⁴ Annal. Lauresh.:—"non tamen per eorum iudicium sed spontanea voluntate se purificare debuisset;" cf. chron. Moiss.

from the false accusations which have been wickedly brought against me."¹

And upon the next day when the king, all the archbishops, bishops, abbots, together with the most illustrious Franks and Romans, were again assembled in the same church of St. Peter, the venerable pontiff, in the presence of all, took into his hands the Holy Gospels of Christ, entered the pulpit, and after the solemn invocation of the Holy Trinity, said in a loud voice:

"It is notorious, dearly beloved brethren, that wicked men have risen up against me, and charged me with the commission of heinous crimes.

"The august, and most gracious lord King Charles, accompanied by his priests and princes, has come to this city in order to investigate these charges.

"On which account, I, Leo, pontiff of the Holy Roman Church, being neither condemned nor constrained by any man, but of my own free will, purify and purge myself, in your presence, before God, who knows the conscience, His angels, and St. Peter the prince of the Apostles, in whose basilica we are now assembled:

"I have never perpetrated, or commanded others to perpetrate, the criminal and wicked deeds of which I stand accused."

"I call God to witness, whose judgment we all must undergo, and in whose sight we are now assembled; and this I do, being bound by no law, nor wishing to impose this custom or duty on my successors, or on my brother bishops in the Holy Church, but solely that I may altogether relieve you from any suspicion that may linger in your minds."

Thereupon all the aforesaid archbishops, bishops, and abbots, together with all the clergy present, chanted a solemn litany, followed by the ancient hymn "Te Deum laudamus," in which the king himself took part, and at its

¹ Vita Leonis, *l. c.*

² Anastasius, *l. c.*, gives his words thus: "I have no knowledge of these

false charges, which the Romans have wickedly brought against me, nor do I know that I have done them."

close united in praise to God for having preserved their apostolical bishop Leo sound in body and soul.¹

The oath, upon good authority, is agreeably to the Roman ritual, and according to precedent. Pope Pelagius I. thus purged himself from the charge of having caused the death of Vigilius, his predecessor.²

The same day on which Leo avouched his innocence, there arrived in Rome the presbyter Zacharias, one of the Court clergy at Aix-la-Chapelle, whom Charles had sent about a year before as bearer of his bounty to the Holy Sepulchre and the other Holy Places. He now returned accompanied by two Eastern monks, belonging respectively to the monasteries on the Mount of Olives and at St. Sabas. They were sent by the patriarch of Jerusalem, who in token of his high regard for the king committed to their care his "benediction," consisting of the keys of the Holy Sepulchre and of Mount Calvary, together with those of the city of Jerusalem and of Mount Zion, as well as of a standard, called that "of the cross," and "the silver standard." There is no doubt that these gifts were symbolical, and betokened the subjection of all those places to the supremacy of Charles. Their presentation on the eve of his coronation as Emperor of the West was a happy and grateful omen. We shall show on a subsequent page their true import; it is sufficient to state here that his supremacy over the Holy Places was purely honorary and nominal.

So distinguished and rare a compliment, however, secured to the monks a warm reception, and munificent reward.³

The impressive service connected with the unique exculpation of Leo took place three days before Christmas. The interval was devoted by him, the assembled hierarchy and clergy, the Roman and Frankish nobles, and even the Roman people, to the discussion of the grand question of the coronation of Charles as Roman emperor.

¹ Annal. Lauriss. Einh., Maxim., Epist. Carol. (Jaffé), IV., 378; Baronius, s. a. 800.

² Jaffé, *Regesta Pontif. Rom.* p. 83.

³ Annal. Lauriss., Einh.; Chron. Moiss.; Alcuini ep. 159.

It took a wide range. Certain deputies waited upon Charles at the time, that is, during the interval between his public entry and Christmas, representing that, in consequence of the events at Constantinople, the name of emperor had been virtually abolished; they dwelt upon the outrageous conduct of the Empress Irene, who, after possessing herself of the person of her unfortunate son, caused his eyes to be put out, and, after the example of Atalia, usurped the throne. It was intolerable, and against all reason, that Charles should continue to hold the office of patrician, which implied subordination to the Byzantine sovereign, under such a woman.

The matter was communicated to Leo, who thereupon convened a General Council, or Synod, composed of all the bishops and clergy then present in Rome, together with the Senate or councillors of the Franks, the Roman nobility, and representatives of universal Christendom, and referred the question to their adjudication.

Charles, it was argued, ought to be proclaimed Emperor, because he was Master of Rome, the mother of empire, where the Cæsars and emperors had always been wont to reside; he was also Master of Italy, Gaul and Germany; God had manifestly blessed his arms, and put all these lands in his power. Who, they asked, should defend the Church, who could defend her from the insults of the pagans, but an emperor?

The Greeks had deserted her, and allowed the very name of emperor to lapse. Was it, therefore, not fit and just that, with the help of God, the name and title of emperor should be given to Charles?¹

The Council decided that this was the only true and just course, and drew up a petition to Charles, in which all Christendom besought him to assume the style and title of emperor.

He felt that he durst not say no to his petitioners, who voiced the sentiment of the Church and the Christian world,

¹ Annal. Lauriss., 801; Chron. Moiss., cf. Vita Willehadi, c. 5, in MG. SS. II., 381.

saying that it was his duty, in all humility, to bow to the will of God, and gratify the Council.

The forthcoming coronation was the absorbing theme of Rome; couriers announced the event to Pepin, and it seems safe to conclude from the undoubted fact of his presence in the city before the Epiphany, 801, that is January 6th,¹ that he spent Christmas there, and was in attendance upon his father at the solemnities of that day.

The feast of the Nativity, the most gladsome festival of the Church, was near at hand. When the Christmas chimes awakened Rome, they fell upon the ears of a vast multitude alive to the fact that never since the establishment of the faith was the Bride of Christ more beautifully arrayed; never before had the Church militant here upon earth had such an antepast of the Church triumphant in heaven.

The glorious memories of departed greatness were awakened; the dark shadows of the long night of sorrow, first under a race of emperors hostile to the faith, then under another which disgraced the purple, and yet under a third which from afar chained the Church to an intolerable despotism, or allowed her to groan under the heel of Lombard oppression, were passing away, and the Christmas sun rose with healing in his wings.

Never before had the basilica of St. Peter, the prince of the apostles, and key-bearer of the kingdom of heaven, held so extraordinary, devout, enthusiastic and distinguished a congregation as on that day.

The noble pile, but lately enriched with the most costly gifts, placed by the munificence of Charles at the disposal of Leo, was radiant in the effulgence of glory. The spoils of the Avars had been converted into the most beautiful ornaments consecrated to the worship of the King, whose natal day was then being celebrated.

Before the altar stood the golden censers, which weighed seventeen pounds; three hundred and seven pounds of solid

¹ Annal. Einh.

silver had been wrought into three grand coronas, ablaze with a glory of waxen light, diffusing its softness over the vast edifice.

The shrine of St. Peter dazzled the eye by its "rugas,"¹ made of forty-nine pounds of the purest gold, and reflecting the light and sparkle of innumerable gems. There waved the superb white silken curtains, embroidered with roses, a central cross in purple and gold, and a rich border all around; and grander still, the glory and crown of all the beautiful paintings, the peerless picture of the Saviour, suspended under the key-stone of the principal arch, fascinated every eye, and exalted the faith of the worshippers.

Through the wide portals of the church filed the bronzed veterans of the Frankish host and the body-guard of Charles; the nobility of Rome and the flower of the people, together with the most illustrious counts, generals, the Court of the monarch, and the pontifical officers.

There were warriors from Septimania and Aquitaine, from Austrasia and Neustria, from Saxony, Bavaria, Friuli, and many a Lombard town, whose martial uniforms, of divers colors, with their corslets and winged helmets of glittering steel, contrasted with the more gorgeous robes of civic functionaries, the white dalmatics of the army of priests around the chancel, and the gorgeous vestments of the hierarchy in Rome assembled.

All Christendom was represented, and if the oriental monks might be regarded as messengers of Harun-al-Raschid, the commander of the Crescent, the great friend and admirer of Charles, also witnessed the memorable transactions of the day. Near the shrine of St. Peter, close to Leo, were Charles, King of Austrasia, Pepin, King of Italy, other members of the royal family, and, overtowering all

¹ " . . . *Rugas*, sen *Rugulas* nihil aliud quam *Portas*, *porticellas* *fenestellasve*, quæ tum ad ingressum *presbyterii* tum in vestibulo altaris, tum intra et extra *Confessionem* erat, tum denique *cancellis* intermixtæ: atque inde vocem Italicam *Ringhiere*, quæ fenestellas ciborum hodie quoque significat, derivatam fuisse."—Du Cange s. v. *Ruga*.
² Anast. *Vita Leon. III.* — apud Migne, CXXVIII., 1210.

the rest, Charles, probably clad in Roman costume, the observed of all observers.

There were present those who remembered him bidding defiance to the Saracens beyond the Pyrenees, chastising the Saxons, and the dusky Avars, or sweeping like a whirlwind over the plains of Lombardy and the downs of Gaul.

To all he was the embodiment of earthly power, the deliverer, defender, and patron of the Church, the avenging judge of her enemies, the potent scourge of infidel and pagan.

The jubilant strains of Christmas joy introduced the solemn service. Mass was said, and Charles knelt in prayer. As he rose from his knees, some say, while he was still kneeling before the altar, standing before it and "the Confession," that is, the tomb of St. Peter, Leo took a splendid golden crown from off the altar, and, placing it upon his brow, exclaimed:

"Long life and victory to Charles, the most pious Augustus, by God crowned the Great and Pacific Emperor of the Romans!"

Under an impulse, they say, proceeding from God and St. Peter, the dome resounded with the same acclamation, thrice repeated, by the multitude of the assembled soldiery, people, and clergy.

As it died away, the solemn chant of the "laudes," or a litany, arose, and at its conclusion, Leo, after the demonstrative usage observed at the coronation of the Byzantine emperors, fell down at the feet of Charles and adored him.

The act of adoration was succeeded by that of unction, the pontiff anointing with holy oil, from the head to the feet, first Charles the Emperor, then his son King Charles,¹ who had borne the regal title since 789, when his father assigned to him the duchy of Maine.²

An oath of office was not administered; at least, no evi-

¹ Vita Leonis III., Alc. Epp. 162, 163 (ed. Jaffé). The slipshod statement that *Pepin* was crowned and anointed, repeated in otherwise respectable books, ought to be corrected. Pepin was anointed king in 781.

² See the authorities cited by Simson, *l. c.* II., 6.

dence to that effect can be found in contemporary writers. Whoever is responsible for that given by a Roman cardinal we cannot tell, but as it is the form which, upon his authority, was afterwards used on similar occasions, it is here presented. It reads thus:

"I, Charles, emperor, engage and promise, in the name of Christ, in the presence of God, and St. Peter the apostle, to protect and defend the Holy Roman Church in all things profitable to the same, and, God being my helper, to the best of my knowledge and ability."¹

Mass being ended, Charles made a precious offering to St. Peter's, and extended his liberality both to that basilica and other churches. Thus we read that he presented immediately after the coronation a silver table, and, in conjunction with his son Charles and his daughters, divers golden vessels, belonging to the table, weighing five hundred pounds; this he followed up on the Feast of the Circumcision, by a superb golden corona, ornamented with precious stones, which was suspended over the altar, weighing fifty pounds, and on the Feast of the Epiphany by three golden chalice, forty-two pounds in weight, two for his children and one for himself, and a golden paten twenty-two pounds in weight. The basilica of St. Paul received a silver table, fifty-five pounds in weight, with sundry vessels thereto pertaining; the basilica of Constantine, a magnificent cross set with sapphires, an altar, and an *evangelium* of purest gold, set with jewels, etc., etc.; the pope also was made the recipient of magnificent gifts, and he distributed three thousand pounds of silver among the poor.²

His biographer doubtless thought of these and previous offerings when he wrote: "He cherished the Church of St.

¹ Baronius, t. ix., ad a. 800.

² Authorities for the coronation, etc. General: Annal. Einh., Maxim., Lauriss., V. Leonis III., Vita Caroli, c. 28, and the lesser authorities cited in Simson, *l. c.* II., 235 sqq. Mühlbacher, *l. c.*, p. 147 sq.

On the unction: V. Leonis III.;

Flodoard, *l. c.* (Muratori, col. 285); cf. Theoph. Chronogr. *l. c.*, p. 733; Const. Manasses, *Compend. Chronic.* V. 4517 sqq.

On the offerings: Vita Leonis III.; Annal. Altah. in MG. SS. XX., 783; Nordhumbr. a. 800, cf. Vita Carol. c.

27.

Peter the Apostle at Rome, above all other holy and sacred places, and heaped its treasury with a vast wealth of gold, silver, and precious stones. He sent great and countless gifts to the popes; and throughout his whole reign the wish he had nearest at heart was to re-establish the ancient authority of the city of Rome under his care and by his influence, and to defend and protect the Church of St. Peter, and to beautify and enrich it out of his own store above all other churches."¹

Such are the details of that important act, so long, laboriously, and thoughtfully prepared, and provided for, concerning which the biographer of Charles writes as follows: "It was then that he received the titles of Emperor, and Augustus, to which he had at first such an aversion, that he declared, that had he been able to foresee the pope's intention, he would not have set foot in the church the day they were bestowed, although it was a high festival."²

This passage is positively startling; it takes one's breath away by its flat contradiction of all that had occurred since Leo's visit to Paderborn. One shrinks from applying the sting and stigma of hypocrisy to the high parties concerned in the transaction. Charles was certainly no hypocrite, still less the creature of Leo. Why, then, should he, how could he, have committed himself to so transparent an affectation?

History, as read in the Annals, the epistles of Hadrian and Alcuin, the verses of Theodulf, the Chronicle of John the Deacon, and the events culminating in the coronation, as just narrated, would require the absolute rejection of Einhard's statement, if it bore only one explanation, but fortunately for his reputation as a trustworthy historian, it admits another, which does not lie on the surface.

The impending coronation, so long and ardently desired, could not have been a surprise to anybody, least of all to Charles.

The surprise was the unexpected, unforeseen, and audacious act of Leo. The crown lay on the altar; Charles

¹ Vita Caroli, c. 27.

² Ibid. c. 28.

had knelt in prayer, and was in the act of advancing, on bended knee and in reverential adoration, to the altar, for the purpose of taking the crown and with the intention of placing it on his head with his own hands, when Leo, in an access of irresistible impulse, some say, by inspiration, seized the diadem, and performed the coronation. The solemnity of the moment, and regard for decorum, moved Charles to repress his indignation, and tolerate the unwarranted and unauthorized improvisation. But he divined the pontiff's motive, and dreading the consequences of his officious interference, as a most dangerous precedent which might be cited in support of the papal claim to the bestowal of the imperial crown, tried to correct it on the occasion of his son's institution as his successor. Viewed in this light, it is credible, and highly probable, that the reception of his imperial titles, under such circumstances, filled him at first "with such an aversion that he declared that he would not have set foot in the church the day that they were conferred, although it was a great feast-day, if he could have foreseen the design of the pope."¹

This construction is confirmed by the circumstances attending the coronation of Louis, when neither the pope nor any other ecclesiastic placed the crown on his head but he himself commanded Louis to take it from off the altar and set it on his own head.² Einhard says, that Charles placed it on his head, but he is doubtless inaccurate in that statement.³

That feeble monarch allowed himself to be persuaded that the act was not sufficient, and not only submitted to a second coronation at St. Remi by Pope Stephen V. (who brought the crown along with him, which later writers said was that of the Emperor Constantine), but to unction.⁴

The reader will bear in mind that Einhard wrote the biography of Charles in the reign of Louis and his own sagacity may supply the rest.

¹ Vita Caroli, c. 28.

² Thegan. c. 6.

³ Vita Caroli, c. 30, cf. Einh. Annal.

⁴ a. 816.—Thegan. cc. 16, 17; Erm. Nig. l. c. II., 451.

The coronation of Charles as emperor of the Romans necessarily abolished his title of "patrician," and sundered the bond of union which had so long existed between the ancient Rome of the West, and the New Rome of the East.

A sarcastic Greek, in not over-complimentary phrase, calls it the separation of "New Rome, the beautiful maiden, from the wrinkled Old Rome."¹ Some papal writers describe the transaction which was manifestly a *coup d'état*, and an act of usurpation, as a transfer of the empire, by Leo, to Charles.

But neither had the Empress Irene renounced her rights, nor Leo, her vassal, acquired any, except by the dangerous and astounding fiction of the Vicar of St. Peter's title to all the kingdoms of the earth. The notion of a transfer, therefore, is absurd. The Western empire, moreover, had practically ceased to exist, and this shows that the event of the coronation was not, and could not be, in any sense, a transfer, but a renewal or restoration, and this was manifestly the view taken at the time, as attested by commemorative coins still extant, bearing the legend, *Renovatio Imperii*, that is, the Restoration of the Empire.

It is, therefore, more correct to say that Leo restored the title of the imperial office, which more than three centuries before lapsed with Momyllus Augustulus, the last emperor of the West, in order that the Church of Rome might have in Charles a protector against the machinations of heretics and tumultuous persons, an office which the emperors of the East appeared to have relinquished long before.²

[801] It remains to state that a few days after the coronation the emperor sat in judgment upon the promoters of the conspiracy against Leo. The facts established against them appear to have been overwhelming; it is said that during the examination, which at one time, at least, included the confrontation of the accused, Campulus cried out to Paschalis: "It was an evil hour in which I saw thy face, for it is

¹ Constant. Manass. Chron. Syn. *perii*, I., 4; Sigonius, *De regni Ital.*, ad a. 801; Pagi, ad a. 800, No. 10.

² Baronius; Bellarm. *De Transl. im-*

thou who hast brought me into this peril."¹ Their mutual incriminations established the guilt of all, and under Roman law they were tried for the crime of high treason, and sentenced to death. Leo interceded for them successfully, while the emperor granted them life, forbade their mutilation, and sent them into exile in Francia.²

The statement that only the most distinguished conspirators had the benefit of executive clemency, and that three hundred of the rest were executed with the sword, or hung, is remanded to the realm of fable.³

A concluding paragraph of this section may be devoted to a brief outline of the imperial power at Rome. The emperor had the prerogative of revising the election of the pope, who could not be consecrated without his express approbation. It was required "that the decree of the election, duly furnished with the signatures of the electors, should be sent by the hands of ambassadors to the emperor for his written approbation."⁴ He had the right of exacting the oath of allegiance from the Romans.⁵ He had the right of sending his *missi* into the papal possessions, and they sometimes discharged the duties of their office in so objectionable and injudicious a manner as to draw forth a mild protest on the part of Leo. They disregarded the authority and feelings of the pontiff in the arbitrary removal of many people from one place to another, and the imposition of onerous taxes, even to the extent that the pontifical dukes were unable to collect and remit his own dues.⁶

There is also of record an instance in which the emperor, as was his wont elsewhere, exercised supreme judicial func-

¹ Vita Leonis III., Migne, t. CXXVIII., 1218.

² Annal. Lauriss., Einh., Maxim. Vita Leon. III.

³ Annal. Einh., Maxim., Guelf. a. 800.—Annal. Nordhumbr. a. 800; Libell. de imper. pot. MG. SS., III., 720; Ekkehard. Chron. 801, ib. VI., 169.

⁴ Simson, *l. c.* II., 245 and the notes, containing all the authorities *in extenso*.

⁵ Thegan. 16, MG. SS. II., 594. Vita Sergii. II., apud Murat. Rer. It. SS. III., I, p. 228. Flodoard. ib. III., 2, 292.

⁶ Leon. ep. 2 (a. 808), ed. Jaffé, IV., 312.

tions in the city of Rome, and at the time immediately following his coronation.

He sat in St. Peter's where the bishop of Arezzo appeared as plaintiff against the bishop of Siena in the matter of the monastery of St. Ansanus and other churches, of which he and his predecessor in the see of Siena had unjustly deprived him, and now prayed for their restoration to the jurisdiction of Arezzo. Charles taking cognizance of the sentence, rendered at his request by the pope and other bishops present, ordered, according to Canon Law, the restoration of the ancient possessions of the church of Arezzo, and issued his diploma under date, March 4, 801.¹

These facts agree in all points with the tenor of an entire capitulum, claiming on the part of Charles supreme jurisdiction throughout those parts of Italy which obeyed his sceptre, and embraced, of course, the papal possessions.²

¹ Böhmer-Mühlbacher, *l. c.*, p. 149, No. 363; Sickel, K., 173; Simson, *l. c.*, II., 248.

² Capitulare Italicum, apud Boretius, *l. c.*, p. 119; Böhmer-Mühlbacher, *l. c.*, No. 366.

BOOK III.

THE IMPERIAL PERIOD.

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CHAPTER I.

THE DIET AND THE CAPITULARIES.

The imperial "Title."—Forms of oath of allegiance.—The Diet : times of meeting, and method of business, in Committee, and in Joint Assembly.—Activity of the monarch.—Executive, and other officers.—Charles, supreme Judge.—His policy towards conquered provinces.—Military service :—"Capitulary of Boulogne."—*Missi*.—Despotism of the Caroline government.—A popular ratification.—The Capitularies.—Their classification.—Examples : Heristal, 779 ; Frankfort, 794 ; Thionville, 805 or 806.—Legislative ability of Charles.—The "Provincial Synods : " their work, and its redaction by Charles.—Abstract of canons.

801] ONE of the first authentic tokens of the change introduced in the administration of the Frankish realm appears in the preamble to the legal instrument named at the close of the preceding chapter. The phraseology is strikingly peculiar, and reads as follows :

"Charles, by divine command crowned, ruling the Roman Empire, Serenissimus Augustus, to all dukes, counts, prefects, and all others of our clemency set in authority throughout Italy, greeting. In the year of the Incarnation of our Lord DCCCI., of the Indiction IX., of our reign in Francia XXXIII., in Italy XXVIII., and of our Consulate I."¹

It differs in some respects from the new title, found in almost all official documents of later date, of the tenor here set forth : "Charles Serenissimus Augustus by God crowned

¹ Baluzius, I., 346 ; Boretius, *l. c.*, 119.

great and pacific emperor, ruling the Roman Empire, and by divine mercy King of the Franks and Lombards."¹

A similar change was introduced in the important form of the oath of allegiance so often mentioned in the course of this history.

The old form ran thus:

"I declare and promise without fraud and malice that I am, and will be, faithful to my lord King Charles, and his sons, all the days of my life."²

Its terrible simplicity was well understood throughout the Frankish dominions, and the consequences of its infraction may be illustrated by the fate of the Saxons and Avars, the fall of the Lombards, the degradation of Tassilo, and hosts of others.

The new oath, prescribed to be administered by special *missi* throughout the realm to all persons, from twelve years upward, was set forth in two forms, one for those who took it the first time, and another for those who had taken it to the king, and were now required to renew it to the emperor.

The former swore:

"I promise on oath that from this day forward I am faithful to lord Charles, the most pious emperor, son of King Pepin and Berthana his queen, with a pure mind, without fraud or malice, of my part to his part, and to the honor of his government, as of law a man is bound to be to his master. So help me God and the patronage of the Saints, whose relics are in this place, because all the days of my life I will thus attend and of my own free consent, according to the light to me vouchsafed."

The latter swore:

"I repromise on oath to lord Charles, the most pious emperor, son of King Pepin and Berthana, that I am faithful as of law a man is bound to be to his master, both as touching his reign and his rights. And this oath, which I have taken, I will, and intend to keep, so far as I know and

¹ Sickel, *U. L.*, 263.

² Capitul. a. 789.—Baluz. I., 241, 243, c. 2; Boretius, *l. c.*, 67.

understand, from this day forth. So help me God, who made heaven and earth, and the patronage of these Saints."¹

Special *missi* had instructions to administer this oath to every subject, cleric, or layman and explain it publicly, in order that all persons might understand it in all its bearings. They were most comprehensive, covering not only fidelity to the emperor throughout life, and binding the subject on no pretence to facilitate the ingress of enemies; aid in, abet, or conceal any act of unfaithfulness on the part of others, but enjoining him to keep the laws of God, refrain from withholding anything belonging to the emperor, from acts of violence against churches, widows, and strangers, on the ground that next to God the emperor is bound to hold such under his immediate protection. It warned him, moreover, to refrain from the alienation of imperial fiefs, the neglect of the *heerbann*, and, in the case of counts, from unlawful or corrupt dispensation from the same, from every kind of disobedience, and from the corrupt or unjust administration of the law.

¹ Capitul. a. 802; Baluz. I., 362; Boretius, 71.

Text of the forms of oath.

I.—Old Oath.

"Sic promitto ego ille partibus domini mei Caroli regis, et filiorum eius, quia fidelis sum et ero diebus vitæ meæ, sine fraude et malo ingenio."

II.—New Oaths.

I.

"Sacramentale qualiter promitto ego quod ab isto die inantea fidelis sum Domno Karolo piissimo Imperatori, filio Pippini Regis et Berthanæ Reginæ, pura mente, absque fraude et malo ingenio de mea parte ad suam partem, et ad honorem regni sui, sicut per dicitum debet esse homo domino suo. Sic me adiuvet Deus, et ista Sanctorum patrocinia quæ in hoc loco sunt, quia diebus vitæ meæ per meam voluntatem, in quantum mihi Deus intellectum dederit, sic attendam et consentiam."

2.

"Sacramentale qualiter repromitto ego Domno Karolo piissimo Imperatori, filio Pippini Regis et Berthanæ, fidelis sum sicut homo per dicitum debet esse domino suo, ad suum regnum et ad suum rectum. Et illud sacramentum, quod iuratum habeo, custodeam et custodire volo, in quantum ego scio et intelligo, ab isto die inantea. Sic me adiuvet Deus qui cælum et terram creavit, et ista Sanctorum patrocinia."—Baluz. I., 378.

It was a most solemn and important act, and left no loophole of escape to any tempted to take it lightly, unadvisedly, or with mental reservation.¹

Before passing to the consideration of the legislation of Charles, as the most striking characteristic of the imperial period of his reign, it seems appropriate to glance at the constitution, method, and rules of order observed at the Diets, *placita*, or Annual Assemblies, at which the laws were made and promulgated.

Our sketch follows the account of Adalhard, abbot of Corbie, the cousin-german of Charles, his trusted, loved, and highly-honored confidential adviser and friend. It was originally in the form of a treatise unfortunately lost. But Hincmar, archbishop of Rheims, who in early youth was personally acquainted with Adalhard, fortunately read and copied the lost treatise, and was able to reproduce it about the close of the ninth century for the guidance of certain nobles seeking his advice with respect to the government of Carloman, son of Louis the Stammerer.²

It specified among other matters that the status of the whole empire consisted of two grand divisions, one containing the fixed and permanent constitution of the Court, the other defining the policy to be followed in the government of the entire monarchy. Among the provisions laid down for the holding of the Diet are these:

→ "It was customary at this time to hold two Assemblies every year, one in spring, of a general character, and another in autumn, attended only by the most prominent seniors and counsellors. . . .

"In both, that they might not seem to have been convoked without motive, there were submitted, . . . by virtue of royal order, the fragments of law, called *capitula*, which the king himself had drawn up under the inspiration of God, or the necessity for which had been manifested to him in the intervals between the meetings. . . .

"On these communications they deliberated two or three

¹ Capit. missorum generale, I-9, II. cc.

² Ep. Hincmar. *de ord. et offic. palat* apud Duchesne, II., p. 490 sqq.

days more according to the importance of the business. Palace messengers, going and coming, took their questions and carried back the answers. No stranger came near the place of their meeting until the result of their deliberations had been submitted to the scrutiny of the great prince, who then, with the wisdom he had received from God, *adopted a resolution which all obeyed.* . . .

"Thus things went on for one or two capitularies, or a greater number, until, with God's help, all the necessities of the occasion were regulated.

"Whilst these matters were thus proceeding out of the king's presence, the prince himself, in the midst of the multitude, came to the General Assembly, was occupied in receiving the presents, saluting the men of most note, conversing with those he saw seldom, showing towards the elder a tender interest, disporting himself with the youngsters, and doing the same thing, or something like it, with the ecclesiastics as well as the seculars. However, if those who were deliberating about the matter submitted to their examination, showed a desire for it, the king repaired to them and remained with them as long as they wished; and then they reported to him with perfect familiarity what they thought about all matters, and what were the friendly discussions that had arisen amongst them.

"I must not forget to say that, if the weather were fine, everything took place in the open air; otherwise, in several distinct buildings, where those who had to deliberate on the king's proposals were separated from the multitude of persons come to the Assembly, and then the men of greater note were admitted.

"The places appointed for the meeting of the lords were divided into two parts, in such sort that the bishops, the abbots, and the clerics of high rank might meet without mixture with the laity.

"In the same way the counts and other chiefs of the State underwent separation, in the morning, until, whether the king was present or absent, all were gathered together; then the lords above specified, the clerics on their side, and

the laics on theirs, repaired to the hall which had been assigned to them, and where seats had been with due honor prepared for them.

"When the lords, laical and ecclesiastical, were thus separated from the multitude, it remained in their power to sit separately or together, according to the nature of the business they had to deal with, ecclesiastical, secular, or mixed. In the same way, if they wished to send for one, either to demand refreshment, or to put any question and to dismiss him after getting what they wanted, it was at their option. Thus took place the examination of affairs proposed to them by the king for deliberation.

("The second business of the king was to ask of each what there was to report to him, or enlighten him touching the part of the kingdom each had come from. Not only was this permitted to all, but they were strictly enjoined to make inquiries, during the interval between the Assemblies, about what happened within or without the kingdom; and they were bound to seek knowledge from foreigners as well as natives, enemies as well as friends, sometimes by employing emissaries, and without troubling themselves much about the manner in which they acquired their information. The king wished to know whether in any part, in any corner of the kingdom, the people were restless, and what was the cause of their restlessness; or whether there had happened any disturbance to which it was necessary to draw the attention of the Council-General, and other similar matters.)

"He sought also to know whether any of the subjugated nations were inclined to revolt; whether any of those that had revolted seemed disposed towards submission, and whether those that were still independent were threatening the kingdom with any attack. On all these subjects, whenever there was any manifestation of disorder or danger, he demanded chiefly what were the motives or occasion of them."

The decisions, resolutions, decrees, precepts, and capitularies enacted by the Annual Assembly passed into the

hands of the Executive, always in attendance upon the person, or within call of the monarch, in the palace, which, during the last years of his reign, was established at Aix-la-Chapelle.

(Although (an autocracy, pure and simple, the government of Charles was patriarchal, paternal, and even domestic.) The whole realm was his family and household, over which he presided as father, and his queen as mother.

All matters of etiquette and ceremony, the annual gifts of the soldiers, and the general conduct of palatial and domestic affairs devolved officially upon the queen.¹

The military estate was the foundation of the Caroline government; it was the avenue to preferment, and, with few exceptions, all civil officers were also soldiers; those who were not soldiers were ecclesiastics.

The chief officers, few in number, will be considered separately; of the rest it may suffice to indicate the name and nature of their functions.

The Arch-Chaplain, also called Custodian of the Palace, and *apocrisiarius*, literally the answer-giver, was the sovereign's eye, ear, and mouth, his privy councillor, notary, and secretary. All matters spiritual and ecclesiastical passed through his hands, and as these, in the reign of Charles, were of supreme importance, it follows that his office was first in dignity and influence. The Arch-Chaplain was also clothed with judiciary powers second only to those of the monarch. This high office was held successively by Folrad, abbot of St. Denis, Angilram, bishop of Metz, and Hildibald, archbishop of Cologne.

Among other functions which he held was that of Dean of the Royal, or Imperial Chapel, an establishment to which quite a number of distinguished men were permanently attached. It was of a collegiate character, and Maginarius, Angilbert, the presbyter Zacharias and others belonged to it.

The Arch-Chaplain seems to have shared the vast burden of his portfolio with the Chancellor, whose duties appear to

¹ Hincmar, *l. c.*, c. XIII.

have been of a similar character. He stood in near personal relations to the sovereign, and held a post answering to that of a modern Prime-Minister, or Secretary of State.

It is known that Hitherius, Rado, Ercanbald, Jeremias, and Einhard, successively discharged the duties of the chancellorship.

Next in importance and influence was the office of the Count Palatine, which seems to have combined the functions of a supreme judge and those of a minister of police.

"Among the countless other matters pertaining to his department were all law suits, no matter where they might have originated, which came up for final adjudication, in order that justice and equity might prevail, and all false or unjust decisions undergo correction conformably to the law of God and that of established usage. Cases not provided for in the Codes, or belonging to laws in conflict with the spirit and genius of Christianity, the Count Palatine was obliged to refer to the king. The latter, on such occasions, took the opinion of good and learned lawyers, fearing God more than man, with a view to determining the true merits of such cases, and deciding them, if possible, by the law of God or of man; but if that could not be done, the human code had to yield to the divine, in order that the justice of God might prevail."¹

Modern lawyers may smile or tremble at the thought of such herculean labor. Perhaps it sounds more tremendous than it really was, for we learn, on the same authority, that the Executive was supplied with a numerous corps of prudent, intelligent, and honest men, who wrote the royal precepts "without exorbitant venality of cupidity, and faithfully kept the confidential matters therein contained."²

Such exemplary fidelity, trustworthiness, and purity would deserve to be held up to the admiration and imitation of all government officers, if the picture were only true.

We may believe, or doubt, if the saintly Adalhard thought so. The good archbishop of Rheims doubtless cited him as

¹ Hincmar, *l. c.*, c. XXI.

² Ibid. c. XVI. Annal. Lauresh. a. 802.

his authority, but unfortunately his good opinion is flatly contradicted by numerous Capitularies and the Annals.

The other officers were: the Chamberlain or Custodian of the Treasury; the Seneschal, or Marshal set over the rest of the servants, and over the table; the Constable was Master of the Horse; the *buticularius*, or Chief Butler, had charge of the cellar; the *mansionarius*, or Quarter-master General had the duty of providing "mansions" or quarters for the Court and strangers. There were four Masters of the Hunt; a Chief Falconer; a Chief Door-keeper; a *sacellarius*, or Custodian of the Fiscus, was probably only a janitor; a Master of the Wardrobe; there were likewise Masters of the wicker enclosures of the Game, Masters of the Hounds, and Masters of the Beavers.¹

The policy of Charles towards the conquered provinces bore harder on the deposed princes than on their subjects; the Lombards and Bavarians fared as well under his rule as under that of their former masters; perhaps, on the whole, their absorption into the Frankish dominion made life less burdensome and more enjoyable.

As to the princes, they were made harmless by the simple expedient of sending them to the cells of monasteries outside their dominions, where, free from the perplexing cares and distractions of this naughty world, they might repent them of their sins, and make their peace with God. There they found peace, and ultimately—a grave.

Their places, shorn of the attributes of sovereignty, Charles gave to loyal Franks, who under the title of Duke administered the provinces as local governors, and at his pleasure. The term "duke" in his reign lost its political significance, and designated not a sovereign or prince, but a military leader.

The Counts, *centenarii* or Hundreders, as well as the

¹ For full details on these several officers, their functions, etc., see Ducange, and the older glossaries under: *Apocrisiarius*; *cancellarius*; *comes palatii*; *camerarius*; *senescalcus*; *buticularius*; *comes stabuli*; *mansionarius*; *venator*; *falconarius*; *ostiarus*; *sacellarius*; *dispensator scapardus*; *bersarius*; *veltrarius*; *beverarius*.

thungini retained the status they had held in Merovingian times; but the power of the first, as well as their dignity, became greater. They were directly responsible to the crown, and often in their respective cantons, "counties," or *gauen* the highest functionaries in a military, judicial, and administrative capacity.

The other judicial officers named were petty judges, inferior to the Counts, with functions restricted to trifling matters, for as they lacked the competence of taking cognizance of cases of life and death, liberty and property, it is evident that they were only police magistrates.

By far the most onerous duty devolving upon the people and flowing from the iron-clad oath of allegiance was the obligation to military service.

This topic has already engaged our attention in another connection;¹ but additional interesting details, drawn from one of the capitularies relating to it, are now in place.

The bill recites:

1. That every freeman is liable to military service and, in the event of failure, subject to a fine of sixty solidi, called the *heerbann*, or the loss of his liberty, if he cannot pay the fine; the payment of the fine restores him to freedom; death alone annuls the obligation.

2. Two-thirds of the *heerbann* are payable to the sovereign, one-third to the count. Gold, silver, clothes, arms, game, and serviceable cattle are legal tender, but land and slaves are not legal tender, in payment of the *bann*.

3. Delinquent beneficed persons, tardy in responding to the call for field service, are to undergo the punishment of subsisting on bread and water only for as many days as they are late.

4. The crime of *herisliz*, or desertion from before the enemy, to be a capital offence.

5. Refusal of a beneficed person to serve with his equal, to be punished with the loss of his benefice.

6. Absolute defence of a demand for drink before the enemy. Inebriates in the army to be put on water. . . .

¹ See p. 103.

The eighth article is given in full:

"Ordered, that preparation for war follow ancient usage, as here set forth, to wit, 'victuals from the marche' for three months, arms and clothing for half a year. Which is to be understood as follows: For soldiers marching from the Rhine to the Loire, the Loire is the point where their victualling begins, but those marching from the Loire to the Rhine must have their three months' supply from the Rhine, while those living beyond the Rhine and marching through Saxony to the Elbe will understand that the Elbe is their 'marche;' and lastly those living beyond the Loire and under orders to march into Spain, will understand that the Pyrenees are their 'marche.'"¹

It may not be superfluous to explain that as the victualling had to be supplied by the soldier, and the three months counted from the "marche," it follows that he had likewise to provide for his support to and from the "marche," which sometimes amounted to many days beside.

As a rule the people were guaranteed the benefit of established usage and judgment under their own laws, provided they did not conflict with the numerous capitularies, promulgated at an alarming but doubtless necessary rate, for the laudable purpose of furthering the ends of justice and equity, and of correcting the defects and errors of the national laws. But as these were not only uncodified² throughout the greater period of this reign, but most loosely and shamefully administered, it stands to reason that such a system was open to the gravest objections, and far too complicated to work smoothly.

Even the institution of *missi*, or special commissioners, clothed with extraordinary visitatory powers, and chosen—at least during the imperial period—from the purest, most affluent and able of dignitaries, secular and ecclesiastic, was inadequate to the correction of abuses arising from the

¹ Capitul. Bonon. apud Boretius I., 166 sqq. Cf. the Capitulary named *exercit. in placito tractanda*, a. 811, Boretius, I., 164.
in n. 1, p. 104; and *Capitula de rebus*

² The first codification was made in 803.

avarice, arrogance, and incompetence of many counts and their subordinates.

The despotism of the whole government of Charles was opposed to popular co-operation and decentralization. Liberty, as understood, say in Great Britain and the United States, was not only unknown, but inconceivable to Charles, who was undoubtedly the most liberal and intelligent man of his age, and in many of his views about five centuries in advance of his servants in or out of the Church. The reports of the *missi* led to new acts of legislation, as they occurred to the *father* of the vast Frankish fatherland, and explain the singular repetitions found in the capitularies.

A good illustration of the insufficiency of the Old Codes and their attempted amelioration by means of additions, together with the method observed for their ratification, is found in the brief preamble to the so-called Supplementary Capitula to the Salian Code, which are also embodied in the Ripuarian, Bavarian and Lombard Codes. It reads as follows:

"In the name of Christ here begin the capitula of the 803] law of the emperor Charles lately set forth (*inventu*) in the third year of our most clement lord Charles Augustus.

"In the said year these capitula were made and committed to Count Stephen for proclamation in the City of Paris at a public mall, and reading therein before the *scabini*. This having been done, all with one consent assented thereto, promising to observe them from that day forth for all time to come; and this all the *scabini*, bishops, abbots and counts confirmed under their own hand."¹

In Italy they were simply "proclaimed" without a popular ratification, and this arbitrary act gave rise to considerable trouble.²

The ratification, of course, was a transparent farce, for since the *missi* chose the *scabini*, and the bishops, abbots and counts present were bound to say "yea" to whatever came to them by imperial command, the unanimous accep-

¹ MG. Leges, I., 2, p. 112.

² Epist. Carol. 27 (Jaffé); cf. capp. I., 1, apud Boretius.

tation and confirmation of the said laws by the mall was a foregone conclusion; even if the public, in a much wider sense, was present in the mall, and voted upon the laws, their vote doubtless confirmed that of the *scabini*, etc., for the Latin language, in which they were written, was unintelligible to them, the whole mall was made up of *Jamänner*, i. e., of men who said "yea" to whatever the *missus*, and after him the *scabini*, might propose.

The whole proceeding strikingly resembles the famous *plebiscites* of Napoleon III., and the cut-and-dried business at the public meetings of political parties.

The Capitularies open so vast, diversified, and instructive a range of topics that it is difficult to drop them, after they have been taken up. They contain by far the truest history of the times, and shed light on matters which the Annals, Chronicles, and Letters of the period touch only slightly, or wholly conceal. They are indispensable to this history, and, in fact, no person can write intelligently of Charles and his reign, or essay the portraiture of his age, without studying them in the light of the magnificent help provided by the laborious zeal of recent German investigators.¹

They are very numerous,² and touch almost every conceivable subject in the realm of religion and the daily life of the period. They contain, according to one enumeration, eleven hundred and fifty-one articles or capitula, of which eighty-seven belong to morals, two hundred and seventy-three to politics, one hundred and thirty to penal provisions, one hundred and ten to civil subjects, eighty-five to religion, three hundred and five to Canon Law, seventy-three to domestic matters, and twelve to miscellaneous themes, or topics of circumstance.³

This enumeration with analysis, may pass for general purposes, but the new material recovered will yield very different results.⁴

¹ I refer more particularly to the works of Boretius, Ficker, Sickel, Böhmer-Mühlbacher, and Abel-Simson, so frequently cited in this volume.

² See the list, Appendix G.

³ Guizot, *Hist. de la Civiliz. en France*, t. II., p. 146 sqq.

⁴ See the list, Appendix G.

Space fails us to enter fully into the subject, and the synopsis, without comment, of three capitularies, belonging to the three separate periods of the reign of Charles, must suffice in evidence of the statements made.

I. Capitulary set forth in the Diet holden at Heristal in the month of March, 779.

1. Enjoins Suffragan Bishops to obey the Metropolitan as the Canons provide.
2. Enjoins the immediate consecration of Bishops not yet consecrated.
3. Enjoins the inmates of monasteries and convents to live according to the Rule.
4. Confirms the canonical jurisdiction of diocesans over their clergy.
5. Grants to Bishops executive power over incestuous persons, and widows.
6. Forbids the reception or ordination of stranger clerics.
7. Enjoins tithes and their use as the Bishop directs.
8. Denies the right of asylum and support to murderers and criminals under sentence of death who have taken sanctuary in a church.
9. Enjoins the extradition of robbers from places of immunity to the Count's Court on pain of loss of fief or payment of the bann.
10. Adjudges a perjurer to the loss of his hand, accords to the plaintiff the privilege of proof by the Ordeal of the Cross, but enjoins the use of lawful means in more important cases and especially in cases relating to liberty.
11. Treats of the punishment of robbers, and of unjust sentences.
12. Enjoins the observance of the laws set forth by his father Pepin.
13. Enjoins the payment of tithe and the ninth, with interest, on rented ecclesiastical possessions, the renewal and recording of precarious possessions [*precaria*], and discriminates between *precaria de verbo nostro* and those voluntarily entered into.

14. Prohibits *trustes*.
15. Enjoins the observance of established regulations concerning *tributarii ecclesiarum*.
16. Prohibits guilds requiring members to take an oath, but freely permits associations for mutual aid in fire and shipwreck not requiring the taking of an oath.
17. Accords to travellers protection from bands [of robbers?], and limits the supply of provender to the military and *missi*.
18. Forbids the levying of tolls previously forbidden.
19. Forbids the sale of serfs except in presence of a Bishop, Count, Arch-deacon, Hundreder, etc., or other persons of good repute, and not beyond the marche.
20. Forbids the export of corslets [*brunia* = *lorica*].
21. Regulates the process of such to whom justice has been denied.
22. Regulates the process in cases where the penalty for feud is refused to be received or paid.
23. Prescribes the punishment of robbers.¹

II. *Capitulare*, set forth in the Synod of Frankfort, convened by papal authority and royal command, in the twenty-sixth year of the reign of Charles.

1. Condemnation of the Adoptian heresy of Elipandus, Bishop of Toledo, and Felix, Bishop of Urgel.
2. Condemnation of the Constantinopolitan decree on Image Worship.
3. Proceedings in the matter of Tassilo.
4. Tariff on cereals and bread; injunction to the royal lieges, or beneficiaries, not to allow any of their serfs² to die of starvation, and to sell first the stored surplus.
5. Legalization of the new *denarii*, with fines.
6. Jurisdiction of bishops over their clergy; co-operation of the counts; metropolitans and their suffragans to

¹ Boretius, Capit. 57; Böhmer-Mühlbacher, no. 213.

² Serfs, that is, persons compelled to labor on the soil where they were

born, and without any right to go elsewhere without the consent of their lord, or master.

- be a Court of Appeal in the second instance, the king in the last instance.
7. Residence enjoined upon bishops and the parochial clergy.
 8. Decision of the difference between Bishop Ursio of Vienne, and the advocate of Bishop Elifant of Arles, etc.
 9. Decree concerning the purgation of Bishop Peter (Petrus) of Verdun, etc.
 10. Deposition of Bishop Gaerbod, upon his own confession of not having been ordained deacon or priest.
 11. Of the exclusion of monks from secular affairs, and judicial proceedings.
 12. *Reclusi* must have the approbation of the bishop and the abbot.
 13. The abbot to sleep with his monks.
 14. Qualification of cellarists in monasteries.
 15. Of monasteries containing the bodies of saints.
 16. No money to be exacted from persons entering a monastery.
 17. No abbot to be elected without the bishop's consent.
 18. Abbots prohibited to blind or mutilate monks.
 19. Clerics forbidden to frequent taverns.
 20. Bishops required to know the Canons and the Rule.
 21. Sunday observance.
 22. Bishops not to be appointed in small towns and villages.
 23. Stranger serfs not to be ordained or received without the approbation of their masters.
 24. Of clerics and monks retaining their vocation.
 25. Ecclesiastical beneficiaries bound to pay the ninth, tithe, and rent; payment of tithe on personal property, with reference to the experience during the year of the great famine (a. 793) of *vacuas annonas a daemonibus devoratas*.¹
 26. Beneficiaries bound to keep their churches in repair.

¹ See p. 308.

27. Clerics forbidden to take a new cure, etc., without episcopal approbation.
28. Absolute ordinations forbidden.
29. Bishops enjoined to provide for the education of well-qualified successors.
30. Disputes betwixt clerics to be decided by Canon Law, those betwixt clerics and laics by the joint action of the bishop and the count.
31. Prohibition and dissolution of *conjurationes et conspirationes*.
32. Of the conservation of monasteries.
33. Of preaching on the Catholic dogma of the Trinity, the Lord's Prayer, and the Creed.
34. Against cupidity and covetousness.
35. Of hospitality.
36. Of the disqualification of vicious persons as plaintiffs against nobles and bishops.
37. Of ecclesiastical reconciliation in times of distress.
38. Clerics of the Chapel Royal forbidden conversation with refractory priests, to prevent their falling under the ban.
39. Of legal proceedings against priests seized in criminal acts.
40. Female orphans to be educated by honorable matrons under the supervision of the clergy.
41. Of the residence of the bishop in his see; his absence from the see on private business not to exceed three weeks; personal property acquired by him during his episcopate to go upon his decease to the Church, not to his relatives.
42. Prohibition of the adoration of new saints.
43. Of the continuance of the ecclesiastical injunction touching the destruction of holy trees and groves.
44. Of the recognition of umpires chosen by both parties.
45. Validity of church usage concerning witnesses; the exclusion of children as witnesses *sicut Guntbadingi faciunt*.
46. Observance of the Canonical Rule as to the time when

- virgins may take the veil, and of their occupation to the twenty-fifth year of their life.
47. Abbesses living contrary to their Rule to be denounced by the bishop to the king with a view to their deposition.
 48. Of the application of alms to the Church and the poor, agreeably to ecclesiastical statute.
 49. Ordination to the priesthood forbidden to take place before the thirtieth year.
 50. General *pax* after Mass; participation in the Mass to be the token of mutual peace.
 51. The reading from the Diptychs not to take place until after the Oblation.¹
 52. Let no man believe that God may be prayed to in three languages only.
 53. Bishops and priests are required to know the Canons (cf. No. 20).
 54. Churches erected by free persons may be donated or sold, provided that they be not desecrated or destroyed.
 55. Address of the king, reciting that as with the approbation of Pope Hadrian, the archbishop Angilram was permitted *propter utilitates ecclesiasticas* permanently to reside at Court, so, with the like papal approbation already obtained, he desired the Synod to sanction a similar arrangement on behalf of Bishop Hildibald (of Cologne).—Consent of the Synod.
 56. Request of the king that the Synod would on account of his ecclesiastical erudition receive Alcuin into their communion, and include him in their prayers.—Consent of the Synod.²

¹ According to ancient usage there were in every church two written tables, "whereof one contained the names of all eminent bishops and clergymen then living, with whom the Church held communion and correspondence; the other the names of all eminent bishops and other men of their own or other churches then

dead. The deacons rehearsed all the names in both tables, at the altar, whenever the Eucharist was celebrated. Those tables were by the Greeks called *Diptycha*, and by some English writers diptychs."—Johnson, *Vade Mecum*.

² Mühlbacher, *l. c.*, No. 316.

III. Instruction for the *Missi*, set forth at Thionville, either in 805 or 806.

1. Punishment of breakers of the peace.
2. Legal protection for churches, widows, and orphans.
3. Due regard to the royal immunity.
4. Directs public prayers to be said in seasons of famine, pestilence, and other public calamity without special command of the king; the relief of the poor during the prevailing famine; the cheap price of grain; and forbids the exportation of necessities of life.
5. Forbids the use of arms at home, in order to check avengement of blood.
6. Equipment for war as formerly directed, together with a corselet for every twelve *mansi* on pain of loss of the fief and of the corselet, if it is left behind.
7. Defines commercial limits against the Slavonians, and Saxons on the line of Bardowick, Schessel, Magdeburg, Erfurt, Hallstadt, Forchheim, Bremberg, Ratisbon, and Lorch, and forbids the exportation of arms on pain of confiscation.
8. Directs the maintenance of the old regulation requiring the incarceration of litigants refusing to respect or denounce the sentence of a judge.
9. Enjoins the oath of allegiance to the emperor to be administered to those who could not take it before because disqualified by age.
10. Directs the severe punishment of oath-bound conspiracies.
11. Of the evidence of witnesses; perjury to be punished with the loss of the hand.
12. Directs the removal of bad judges (*vögte*) and officers, the choice of others able and willing to render justice, and the denunciation of bad ones to the emperor.
13. Treats of the levying of only established and lawful tolls, etc. ✓
14. Treats of the process with regard to fugitives, etc.
15. Forbids freemen to enter the clerical vocation without

the emperor's permission, because men frequently did so in order to evade the *heerbann* and the royal service, or to escape from covetous oppression.

16. Forbids the oppression of poor freemen, etc.
17. Forbids the worship of new saints and [erection of new] churches, unless by episcopal permission, etc.
18. Forbids the stamping of coin in all places other than the royal palace until the capitulum is countermanded, because of the frequent occurrence of counterfeit money, etc.
19. Enjoins the conscientious collection of the forfeited *heerbann*.
20. Enjoins the payment of the royal tax (*Königszins*) on the person, and property, where it has been in use.
21. Process against robbers as formerly directed.¹
22. Treats of the security of patrimony, defence of one's own cause, and the competence to testify on the part of freemen marrying female serfs attached to domanial estates, as an honor due the emperor and his ancestors.²

It is almost certain that all the Capitularies, down to the minutest detail of each title, were drawn up under the dictate or eye of Charles, and express his mind far better than anything else which has come down to us. His legislative and administrative capacity was marvellous.³ The difficulties in the way of harmonizing the several national codes seemed to him much greater than the reconciliation of church laws, and the framing into one general Capitulary of the legislation necessary for the correction of abuses which had crept into the Church. The year before his death he directed, with a view to this grand reformation, the holding **813**] of five Provincial Synods at Mayence, Rheims, Tours,

¹ The process was brief but very emphatic; a robber was punished with the loss of his limbs for the first two offences, and of his life for the third. Capit. 779, c. 23, ed. Baluz., *l. c.*, t. I., p. 195.

² Boretius, *l. c.*, Capit. 87. Baluz.,

Capit. I., 423. Böhmer-Mühlbacher, *l. c.*, no. 406. Such serfs were called *fiscalinen*.

³ See the number of Capitularies set forth after 800, as plainly stated in the list, Appendix G.

Chalons-sur-Saone and Arles. They were directed, most probably in a General Admonition, to give their attention to particular points, legislate upon them, and submit their resolutions for examination and final action to the emperor.

The Councils met, adopted altogether two hundred and forty-three Canons, and presented them to the emperor. The Council of Arles which adopted twenty-six Canons, of which only the first related to the Catholic Faith, the rest to discipline, accompanied them by a brief clause addressed to the emperor personally, in which the fathers desired his prudence to supply any deficiency, his judgment to correct any error, and his clemency, with the aid of God, to confirm whatever was reasonable in their legislation.¹

The other Councils added similar clauses, and all the Canons after examination in Committee, probably under the immediate presidency of Charles (who was the best canonist of the age), were reported to the Diet, in the form of a digest or collation, from which he selected twenty-six brief capitula which were set forth for the whole empire. Copies might be had in the several episcopal cities, as well as at Aix-la-Chapelle where they were placed in the Archives.²

It would lead too far to open the questions under discussion, but the method followed in the Synod of Mayence, which conformed to the example set in the Diet of Aix-la-Chapelle,³ is instructive and interesting. It was composed of thirty bishops, twenty-five abbots, a number of the clergy, monks, counts and laymen. The arch-chaplain and archbishop of Cologne, the archbishops of Mayence and Salzburg, and the bishop of Worms were present in the character of imperial *missi*. They deliberated not conjointly, but in three sections: in the *first* were the bishops and clergy; in the *second* the abbots and monks; in the *third* the counts and other laics. The bishops discussed

¹ This was not empty verbiage, but profound conviction.

² Labbe, *Concil.* ed. Coleti IX., 375; Mansi, XIV. b 343; Sirmond. *Concil.* II., 323; Le Cointe, *Annal. Eccl. Franc.* VII., a. 813.—Böhmer-

Mühlbacher, *l. c.*, no. 468; Abel-Simson, *l. c.*, II., p. 502 sqq.—*Annal. Einh.*, Chron. Moiss., a. 813.—Cf. also *Fragm. Vitæ S. Barnardi*, apud Bouquet, V., 481.

³ Held October, 802.

church matters with reference to the Gospels, Epistles, and Acts of the Apostles, the Canons, and certain works of the Fathers, especially the pastoral book of Gregory, and other dogmatical works; the abbots and approved monks deliberated on the amelioration of the monastic estate with special reference to the Rule of St. Benedict; lastly, the counts and laics took cognizance of legal points and settled knotty questions which came before them. The results were fifty-six Canons.¹

Those which the emperor set forth were the following:
Abstract of the Canons.²

1. Enjoins archbishops to exhort their bishops to stop the abuses concerning baptism of which presbyters were guilty.
2. Forbids the laity to eject their ministers.
3. Forbids the laity to sell livings.
4. Enjoins the strict observance of the Canons and the Rule.
5. Authorizes the clergy to say Mass in convents, but enjoins them to leave immediately after Mass.
6. Forbids the unnecessary crowding of conventual establishments.
7. Enjoins the payment of tithes.
8. Enjoins the purification of the Church from incest.
9. Enjoins bishops and counts, the clergy, monks, and the laity generally to live peaceably with one another.
10. Enjoins counts, judges, and the people generally to obey the bishop, and all concerned to render justice, refusing bribes and false witnesses.
11. Enjoins the care of servants and serfs because of the famine.

¹ Concil. Mogunt. præf. col. 64, 65.

² *Capitula e Canonibus excerpta*. a. 813, apud Boretius, *l. c.*, p. 173 sqq. Mühlbacher, *l. c.*, No. 463. Cod. Gandav. contains four additional *capitula*, of which the last two are expansions of cc. 4, 5, but the first two are new, enjoining the investigation of

the alleged charge against Austrasian priests of extorting money from persons known to them through the Confessional as robbers, and severe measures against *homines faidosi* addicted to causing disturbance on Sundays and Holy Days.

12. Authorizes bishops to sustain the poor from church funds.
13. Commands just and equal weights and measures.
14. Enjoins preachers to preach intelligently.
15. Enjoins the sanctity of the Lord's Day.
16. Enjoins bishops to visit their dioceses.
17. Interdicts presbyters, on pain of deprivation, to give chrism as medicine, or against witchcraft.
18. Enjoins sponsors to do their duty.
19. Interdicts the practice of depriving old churches of tithes or property in order to benefit new ones.
20. Interdicts sepulture in churches except in the case of bishops, abbots, and good presbyters.
21. Interdicts placita to be held in houses or churchyards.
22. Prohibits counts and the judiciary generally to buy or seize the property of the poor.
23. Enjoins bishops to remand fugitive priests to their own bishops.
24. Enjoins the beneficed clergy to be at the charge of repairing churches.
25. Enjoins that public criminals be sentenced in public and required to do penance in public.
26. Enjoins presbyters to lead good lives and teach the people so to do.

CHAPTER II.

ADMINISTRATION.

Finances and Revenue.—Contributions in kind for the army, the *missi*, and the Court.—Taxes.—Tolls.—Pilgrimage.—The Villas: their government; Capitulary concerning them; Inventories.—Commerce.—Coinage.

THE finances and revenue of the Frankish empire were peculiar. Under the ancient unwritten laws taxation was incompatible with liberty; the payment of any tax whatsoever was denounced as a token of subordination. This principle remained in force long after the establishment of royalty. The revenue of the sovereign was derived from the income of his own possessions, from dues payable by vassals, from tolls, from fiscal fines, and from the yield of the law of inheritance, by which the fiscus fell heir to the possessions of childless freemen to the third generation, and the estates of disfranchised freemen.)

(Charles had no public exchequer or treasury in the modern acceptation of the term; his exchequer was only the receiver, not the dispenser, of the public revenue, except for purposes of war as he saw fit.)

He had no salaried officers. The counts, and their subalterns, charged with the administration of the public business in districts smaller than the "Gau," or county, received certain benefices in landed estate, royal or fiscal.

The counts were in things temporal what the bishops and abbots were in things spiritual. They were either large land-owners in fee simple, or royal beneficiaries, privileged to levy banns or fines for offences of every kind or degree. These pecuniary compositions were their income. The system worked well enough for them, but most disastrously to the morals, as well as to the secular and eternal welfare of the people, who groaned under their extortions, suffered,

wept, entered into involuntary slavery, praying for better times which came not for many long and dreadful centuries.

Although the ordinary revenue of Charles was insufficient for the cost of his many wars, his armies entailed neither on him, nor on the State proper, an expense proportionate to that incurred in military countries at the present.

The burden fell wholly on the people, who as the vassals, feudaries, and lieges of their several lords, were bound to march against the enemy, or, as freemen, expected to come cheerfully when commanded so to do.

The count or lord was, in theory, supposed to be at the charge of arming and supporting his men, but the capitularies show that the supposition was generally at fault.

The soldiers on their journey to and from the "marche," or rendezvous, lived at the cost of the several districts through which they passed.

The sovereign's treasurer had to provide for such expenditures as the cost of ammunition and transportation; the cost of the *schaar*, or household-troops; that of embassies; that of the *missi*, together with the expenditure necessary for the support of the entire Court. The first and third of these items were nominal, for the counts were bound to furnish a *pro rata* contribution in ammunition and transportation, while the *missi* were privileged to receive relays of horses, free quarters and entertainment.

But the wants of a *missus* were neither few nor small. If he was a bishop he might feast upon a *daily* allowance of forty rolls, three fresh hams, three *modii* of drink [wine, brandy, or beer, it is not clear which], a young pig, three chickens, fifteen eggs, and four *modii* of horse-feed; if he was an abbot, count, or other ministerial officer, he had to content himself with only thirty rolls, two fresh hams, two *modii* of drink, a young pig, three chickens, fifteen eggs, and three *modii* of horse-feed; and if he was only a common vassal his claim must not rise higher than seventeen rolls, a fresh ham, a young pig, one *modius* of drink, two chickens, ten eggs, and two *modii* of horse-feed. These were only the major constituents of the daily rations of a *missus*,

which consisted altogether of about forty articles, duly prescribed, down to the requisite quantities of pepper, salt, and cinnamon.¹

Even the monarch and his Court received, and was entitled to receive, such entertainment on his journeys. The hospitality of his lieges was compulsory, not voluntary; it is not surprising to read that some were ungracious enough to petition for relief.²

In spite of such uncommon facilities for the conduct of war, the expenditure exceeded the income, and the deficit was made up by extraordinary extortions, such as contributions in kind of provisions and necessities for the use of the Court and of the army on a march.³

These unpleasant and ruinous innovations soon became established. The old Merovingian custom of so-called voluntary gifts presented by the Franks to their king at the annual May-Field was converted into a regular tax;⁴ and there is hardly room to doubt the existence of a general tax, a tax on real estate, and a capitation tax.⁵

Little is known of the means resorted to for the collection of those obnoxious taxes, which were thorns in the side of the poorer freemen and almost drove them to despair. As for the bishops, abbots, counts, and magnates generally, they understood how to secure immunities and avoid payment by other expedients.

The tolls were a terrible institution to all classes and conditions of men except the privileged. They took root in the principle that every man, as lord absolute of his own possessions, is endowed with the inalienable right of dictating and enforcing his own terms upon all who set foot thereon, or seek in any other way to use it for their own benefit. The whole country, with its roads and rivers, belonged to

¹ Hludovici Pii Capit. Missor. a. 819. Cf. Marculf., Form l. I., c. XI.
² Hüllmann, *Deutsche Finanzgeschichte*.
³ Capitulare a. 813. c. 10. MG. LL., I., 188.

⁴ Hincmar, *l. c.* c. XXX.
⁵ See above, the Instruction, etc., c. 20, p. 390, and cf. Luden, *l. c.*, V., 560.

the sovereign and his vassals. Landed estates were royal domains, or benefices, granted to the lords spiritual and temporal, or allodial possessions belonging to freemen. The sovereign was lord and master on the royal villas, the vassal held that position on benefices, but on the allodial or freehold estates the nation, or the king as its representative, claimed and held sovereign rule.

All these several lords and masters established dues or tolls for the use of their meadows, woods, gates, bridges, rivers, streams, canals, etc., etc.; the whole country was filled with toll-gates and toll-gatherers; no trader might enter with his commodities a village or castle and attempt their sale without paying toll for the privilege. The robber-knights of the Middle Ages, whose romantic strongholds, now mostly in ruins, enchant the eye of travellers, were the bane of their contemporaries, and their prototype, as well as the prototype of the army of modern tax-gatherers who are the bane of modern travellers, flourished under the bishops, counts, and nobles in the glorious reign of the invincible Charles.

In that halcyon epoch of the minions and protégés of the conqueror of Europe the only persons or things exempt from toll were the royal *missi* and officers on their journeys to and from the Court, commodities in course of transportation to the same place, conscripts called out for military service, pilgrims, and travellers for pleasure. The latter were few, but the pilgrims most numerous.¹

One hardly knows, without hurting the sensibilities of some, how to denominate this singular movement which was quite general in the reign of Pepin.² Numbers of Frankish pilgrims interfered with the monastic repose of Carloman on Mount Soracte.³ Ansa, the queen of the hapless Desiderius, had the merit of providing for the wants of pilgrims in such wise that such as hailed from the West and undertook the pilgrimage to St. Peter's, or to the sanctuary of the arch-angel Michael on Mount Gargano, might quietly and safely march

¹ See Luden, *l. c.* t. V., l. XI., cc. 7-10, p. 109 sqq.

² Oelsner, *Jahrb. d. fränk. Reichs unter K. Pippin*, p. 106.

³ Vita Caroli., c. 2.

along, for thanks to her liberality they need fear in the darkness of night, neither the arms of robbers, nor frost and rain, but find ample accommodation of food and shelter under the hospitable roof, presumably of some hospice which she had founded.¹ Besides Rome, the cities of Tours, Paris (St. Denis and St. Germain des Prés), St. Quentin and Rheims, and Echternach, were frequented by multitudes of pilgrims. The Anglo-Saxons were wont to go in large numbers. Charles himself not only visited the Holy Places, as has been stated before, but took them, and the pilgrims, under his peculiar protection.² He granted them privileges, and provided for their wants, but the numbers of the pilgrims were so great and led to so many abuses,³ that it became necessary to take legislative measures for their correction. It not unfrequently happened that the rich undertook pilgrimages as a pretext for extortion, and vagabonds pretended to be pilgrims in order to beg.⁴ Negligent clergymen, moreover, and peccant laics saw in a pilgrimage the atonement for their sins of omission and commission.⁵ The matter came up in the Provincial Council of Chalons, and the fathers unanimously resolved that the clergy, without the express permission of the bishop, were forbidden to make the pilgrimage of Rome or Tours,⁶ citing the words of Jerome, that "it was more praiseworthy to have lived well in Jerusalem, than to have seen Jerusalem."⁷ Theodulf also adverts to the matter, and expounds the Hieronymian idea into the sentiment that "not the way of the feet, but that of pure morals conducts men to heaven."⁸

After this digression, we resume the topic of internal government.

¹ Pauli diacon. Carm. 8. in Poet. Lat. ævi Carol. I., 45, 46; cf. Simson, *l. c.* II., p. 505 sqq.

² Capit. missor. generale a. 802 c. 27; Pippini regis capit. 782-786, c. 10.

³ See the epistle to Offa, p. 335.

⁴ Concil. Cabilon. 813. c. 46 apud Mansi, XIV., 102 sq.

⁵ Ibid.

⁶ Ibid. c. 44.

⁷ Ibid. c. 46.

⁸ Theodulf. Carm. 67. See the whole subject in Simson, *l. c.* II., 505 sqq., to whom I am indebted for the collection of the facts.

The royal villas were much better managed, and their administration may now be briefly considered. They were quite numerous, and unlike anything to be found in lands of modern culture. More vast and primitive than the castles of the next ages, they were not cities or villages; but the modern German, Flemish, or French village with a mansion house in the centre, a large number of houses in the streets and lanes radiating from it, and terminating in the open field or forest, is perhaps the nearest picture to be had of villas as they existed at Aix-la-Chapelle (before the cathedral and palace were built), at Attigny, Chasseneuil, Compiègne, Corbeny, Douzy, Duren, Frankfort, Héristal, Ingelheim, Liège, Mayence, Nimeguen, Paderborn, Quierzy, Ratisbon, Salz, Schlettstadt, Thionville, and many other places.

We have interesting and contemporary documents descriptive of their construction, the number of their dwellings, and their general conduct.

One of the best known of the Capitularies states in the opening article the general sentiment of Charles on the subject of the villas.

"We desire," he says, "that our villas which we have founded for our own use, should wholly minister to our own wants, not to those of others.

"We desire that our family be well cared for, and none thereto belonging be reduced to want.

"We desire that our judges presume not to bring our family into their service, or compel them to render villein socage, hew wood, or do any other kind of work, or accept of them any gift, neither horse, steer, cow, pig, ram, shoat or lamb, except bottles and fruit of the garden, apples, chickens, eggs," etc., etc.¹

The government of the villas resembled that of the empire. The sovereign gave his general directions, and his consort her special orders through the seneschal or butler, to the judge or director of the villa. This judge had under him a superintendent set over managers in charge of the

¹ Capit. de Villis, *l. c.*, p. 83.—The bottles were not empty.

several estates, and the managers directed the stewards placed over each estate.

The stewards were chosen from persons not freemen but attached to the place, and had under them the foremen of the numerous institutions of the villa establishment. All these officers were beneficed, and the judge, the head of all, held a very responsible position. He issued general orders to those in inferior appointments, held them accountable for their execution, received their reports, and sent his own to the sovereign. He was, moreover, clothed with the authority and power of a judge in the composition of differences, and the infliction of punishment on those convicted of minor offences.

All the directions emanated in the first instance from Charles and were drawn up with an almost incredible minuteness of detail; they specified everything essential to the prosperity of the establishment.

The farm and the forest were model establishments for thrift and cleanliness, as well as for the variety and quality of the produce. The aim was to have the best of everything in large quantities and with a provident anticipation of the future.

In this respect Charles was another Joseph. The royal villas supplied each other's wants by an interchange of commodities; the fields and meadows, forests, mountains, rivers, and ponds were planted and stocked with the very best varieties suitable to the climate and capabilities of the domain.

All the cereals grown in the country were cultivated; the flower gardens were furnished with the choicest specimens for beauty and fragrance, the orchards and kitchen gardens produced the richest and best varieties of fruit and vegetables. Charles specified by name not less than seventy-four varieties of herbs which he commanded to be cultivated; all the vegetables still raised in Central Europe, together with many herbs now found in Botanical Gardens only, bloomed on his villas; his orchards yielded a rich harvest in cherries, apples, pears, prunes, peaches, figs, chestnuts, and mulberries. The hill-sides were vineyards laden with the finest varieties of grapes.

His cattle was thoroughbred throughout; his stables contained only the most superb and purest breeds; the lineage of all his animals was accurately traced. Domestic animals of every kind were kept, and every villa had a stock-farm; multitudinous herds of swine were driven to mast in the woods, while flocks of geese, chickens, and pigeons were kept in appropriate yards. Peacocks, pheasants, guinea-fowl, ducks, pigeons and turtle-doves were not forgotten for ornamental or gastronomical purposes; hawks and falcons might be seen, together with every variety of canine for domestic use or the chase. The utmost care was given to the preservation of game and of the woods. Not even the culture of fish and bees was neglected. Very careful book-keeping of the yield, consumption, and disposal of everything, together with the stock on hand, was maintained, and the tenth of the yield religiously given to the Church.

The choicest of everything went to the royal table and the tables of the Court; a large share was prepared and set aside for unforeseen emergencies; whatever was in excess of present or future use was duly catalogued, sold in the market, and accounted for at Christmas.

Attached to the royal villa, in the centre of which stood the palace or manse, were numerous dependent and humbler dwellings, occupied by mechanics, artisans, and tradesmen, or rather manufacturers and craftsmen, in great numbers. The dairy, the bakery, the butchery, the brewery, the flour-mill were there.

Almost everything was "home-made;" the "semmel," loaf, sausages, cheese, beer, mead, wine, in fact everything belonging to the kitchen and the table came from the villa. But whatever pertained to the household in a much wider sense was made on the villa. The finest of wool and flax was spun by the women, while others of their sex wove the thread into linen and cloth. Dyers were at hand to dye the fabrics; tailors, tailoresses and seamstresses made them up into garments. Furriers, tanners, saddlers, and shoemakers plied their trades with material raised on the villa; there were also carpenters, joiners, cabinet-makers, masons, smiths

of high and low degree, from the blacksmith to the goldsmith, together with armorers and turners—and on some of the villas even mints were kept busy.

It was the judge's duty to see that all these multifarious trades and pursuits should be plied and followed by those skilled in them.

The villa was a city in embryo, and in due course grew into one, for as it supplied in many respects the wants of the surrounding country, so it attracted population and became a centre of commerce.

(This cursory sketch may be illustrated by a paragraph from the capitulary cited, setting forth the royal directions, with respect to the "judge." (CHIEF CARRIAGEE))

It ordains that "each judge shall make an annual statement of all the work done by our ploughmen with oxen; of the number of *mansi* under cultivation; of the revenue from the fields and rents; of payment from credits and fines for breaches of the peace; of the number of animals in our forests caught without our leave; of receipts from legal fines, mills, forests, fields, bridges, and vessels; from free-men and hundreders attending to our fiscal business; from markets, vineyards, and vendors of wine; from hay, wood, and torches; returns of the stock of axes and other material; of peat; of the yield, consumption, and stock of millet and fennel-millet; of wool; of flax, linen, and canvas; of orchard-fruit, large and small nuts, grafted fruit; of turnips; of fish-ponds; of hides, skins and horns; of honey and wax; of fat, tallow, and soap; of mulberry wine, cooked wine, mead, vinegar, beer, new and old wine; of new and old crops; of chickens, eggs, and cheese; returns from fishermen, armorers, smiths, and shoemakers; of bake-houses, safes, and closets; from saddlers, turners, and blacksmiths; of iron and lead-mines; of royalties; of fillies and other young animals—such statement to be presented to us separately, distinctly, and in proper order, at Christmas, that we may know how much we are worth, and the exact quantity of these several things."¹

¹ Capit de Villis, ed. Boret., l. c., I., 88, sq.

The foregoing blank, or form, of the judge's report conveys an animated though not exhaustive view of the royal villas. The law, of which it forms part, consists of seventy sections, or capitula, specifying in addition to the items named, that the villas were used as prisons or places for the safe-keeping of hostages, and stations for the manufacture and storage of material of war. Great attention was paid to forestry, not only with respect to the felling of trees for fuel and other purposes, but the culture of new plantations, the supervision of game, and especially the destruction of wolves, whose skins were sent to headquarters, while the foresters were required to devote the month of May to the extermination of young wolves.

Christmas was the set time for the reports from all the villas, and Lent the season for the transmission of the surplus in money. Charles, doubtless with the assistance of a corps of expert accountants, found time for the personal examination of the reports, and provided for the systematic visitation of the villas by comptrollers charged with the duty of inventorying any and everything belonging to them, and in due time forwarding their reports to him.

Examples of such reports have escaped the gnawing tooth of time, and one relating to the status of the fiscal villa of Asnapium, supposed to be identical with Gennapium, near Cleves, unfolds the nature of the investigation. The commissioners went over the whole territorial extent of the establishment, which appears to have belonged to the primitive order in vogue in Merovingian times. They traversed the fields and woods, entered every dwelling, hut, barn, and stable, visited every room from the garret to the cellar, opened every cupboard, closet, and drawer, inventorying not only all they found, but certain things or persons, called for in their blanks, they did not find.

A few paragraphs from that instructive and entertaining return, presented without further comment, show how the royal instructions were carried out.

"In the domanial fiscus of Asnapium we found: a royal hall, built of stone in the best manner; 3 rooms; the

house entirely surrounded by balconies; 11 female apartments.

"Below: 1 cellar, 2 porticoes.

"Other houses below the yard: 17 frame dwellings, with as many chambers and other attachments, all well constructed; 1 stable; 1 kitchen; 1 mill; 2 granaries; 3 barns.

"[We found] the yard well protected by a fence with a stone gate, and above, a balcony for offices; the inner yard likewise set off by a fence, laid out in the usual manner, and planted with a variety of trees.

"Vestments: 1 bed, ready; 1 table-cloth; 1 towel.

"Utensils: 2 ore dishes; 2 drinking cups; 2 ore cauldrons; 1 iron cauldron; 1 brewing pan . . . ; 1 pair of andirons; 1 lamp; 2 hatchets; 1 stone-chisel; 2 braces; 1 axe; 1 fire basket; 1 large plane; 1 small plane; 2 scythes; 2 sickles; 2 spades.—Wooden vessels for household use in sufficient quantity.

"[We found] of farm produce: *Old spelt*, last year's crop, 90 baskets, equal to a yield of 450 pensas of flour; 100 modii of corn.

"This year's *spelt*: yield, 110 baskets; planted, 60 baskets; the remainder found.

"*Wheat*: yield, 100 modii; planted, 60 modii; the remainder found.

"*Rye*: yield, 98 modii; planted as many.

"*Barley*: yield, 1800 modii; planted, 1500; the remainder found.

"*Oats*, 430 modii; *beans*, 1 modius; *peas*, 12 modii.

"[We found] 5 mills; 800 modii, small measure; given to the prebendaries, 240; the remainder found;—2 bridges.

"*Salt*: 60 modii, and 2 solidos [*i.e.*, valued at so much].

"Gardens, 4; 11 solidos; honey, 3 modii.

"Census: Butter, 1 modius; lard, — last year's bacon 10 [sides?], new bacon, 200, together with sausages and rendered lard; this year's cheese, 43 pensas.

"Stock: Old draught cattle, 51 head; of the third year, 5; of the second year, 7; of this year, 7; fillies of the second year, 10; of this year, 8; stallions, 3; oxen, 16; asses, 2;

cows with calf, 50; young bullocks, 20; yearling calves, 38; bulls, 3; pigs: old, 260; young, 100; boar-pigs, 5; sheep with lamb, 150; yearling lambs, 200; rams, 120; goats with kid, 30; yearling kids, 30; bucks, 3. Geese, 30; chickens, 80; peacocks, 22."

The inventory of one of the dependencies states:

"We found all the dry and liquid measures even as in the palace.

"Of handicraft-men we found neither goldsmiths, nor silversmiths, nor blacksmiths; nor were there any huntsmen and other attendants.

"We found of garden produce: lilies, cost-wort, mint, parsley, rue, celery, small beans, sage, hyssop, *savina*, leek, garlick, wormwort, heart's-ease, coriander, shallots, onions, cabbage, cauliflower, *betonica officinalis*.

"Trees: pear, apple, mispil, peach, walnut, filbert, mulberry, and cotton-mulberry."¹

Commerce, in the Caroline age, moved in narrow channels. Anglo-Saxons, Frisians, and Sclavonians are often named in connection with the foreign trade of Central Europe.

Boulogne, Ghent, Malines, Paris, Poitiers, Quentowic on the Canche, Duurstede, and Sluis were commercial centres, and sea-ports, in Central Europe; Venice maintained commercial intercourse with the Levant, and Ancona, together with Porto Venere, in the Genoese territory, had a sea-trade.

The fair of St. Denis (Paris) was much frequented in Merovingian times; on the Rhine, Worms and Mayence, were the oldest and most important commercial cities.

Frisians, the progenitors of the Dutch, were famous traders and wont, on the Rhine, to exchange cloth, garments, and pottery for wine, cereals, and wood.

The Sclavonians also excelled in trade; an old commercial road connected Thuringia with Mayence; it ran through the great Buchonian forest, and was much frequented by Sclavonians.

¹ "Brevium exempla, etc.," Bore. Fiscor. Regal. describ. Form.," *tius*, *l. c.* p. 254, sq.—"Beneficiorum Pertz., *l. c.* p. 178 sqq.

Abbot Sturmi, wandering through that forest, in search of a suitable locality for the establishment of a monastery, came to the valley of the Fulda, and finding great numbers of Slavonians bathing in the river, near the spot where the said commercial road crossed it, made choice of that place as best suited to his purpose.

In later times a chain of commercial points, running from the mouth of the Elbe to the confluence of the Enns with the Danube, was established for the regulation of the frontier-trade with foreign nations. Such establishments, under government supervision, existed at Bardowick, Schlessel, Magdeburg, Erfurt, Hallstadt, Forchheim, Ratisbon, and Lorch, and foreign traders were not permitted to carry their commodities beyond them.¹

The old standard of the coinage extant at the accession of Charles was the Roman pound of 325 grams, divided into 240 denarii of 1.35 grams. The *gold solidus* of the Gauls, Franks, Anglians, etc., of 40 denarii had an approximate value of about \$3.50. Charles introduced a heavier standard, based on a pound of about 367 grams, which for centuries later was known as "Karles lot," or *pondus Caroli*, that is, Charles's weight.

Much of the silver, used for coinage, came from Poitou, and the locality which from that circumstance received the name of "Metallum," the modern Melle, was surrounded with the halo of secrecy; at any rate the approaches to the mines were religiously concealed.

Counterfeiting prevailed to a large extent and led to special legislation, restricting the issue of coin to mints established in the imperial palaces, and certain villas.²

¹ Vita Sturmi, c. 7; Einh. *Translatio SS. Marcell. et Petri*, IV., 39 (Jaffé); Mirac. S., Goar, cc., 20, 27, 28; Ermold. Nigell. I. V., 107, sqq.; Monach. Sangall. I., 34; II., 9;—Mühlbacher, *l. c.*, p. 167, no. 406. See p. 389.
² Beverin. *De Pond. et Mens.*, p. 51; Soetbeer, *Forschungen z. deutschen Geschichte*, IV., 293, sqq.—See p. 390.

CHAPTER III.

THE NEW ERA.

"Pacific"? policy.—The Empress Irene.—War with Benevento.—War with the Saracens.—Siege of Barcelona.—Capture of Zeid.—Surrender of the city.—Intercourse with Harun al Raschid.—The elephant *Abul-Abbas*.—Fortunatus.—Venetian affairs.—Discovery of the blood of Christ.—Leo visits Charles.—Death of Alcuin.—Christmas celebration *cum gaudio* at Thionville.—Partition of the empire.

THE familiar announcement that "the empire is peace" was a coincidence or an adaptation, and as true as the epithet "pacific" imbedded in the title of the new Emperor of the West. At the time of its bestowal it was glaringly inapt, for he had in hand the wars in Benevento and Spain, and his mind was bent on war with the Saxons and Slavonians until he could have peace on his own terms. Perhaps it was intended as a manifesto to the Byzantine Court, which would not view the Coronation in the same light in which it was regarded at Rome and throughout the Frankish dominion. There his motives were certainly suspected; it was even rumored at Constantinople that he had hostile designs upon Sicily, and the flight of the *spatharius* Leo, a Sicilian, to the emperor, seemed to give color to the suspicion.¹ The biographer of Charles intimates as much when he writes that "the Greeks suspected him of designing to wrest the empire from them, because of his assumption of the title of emperor. . . . In fact, the power of the Franks was always viewed by the Greeks and Romans with a jealous eye, whence the Greek proverb, 'Have the Frank for your friend, but not for your neighbor.'"²

The Empress Irene, whose name was peace, took the ini-

¹ Theophan. Chronogr. (ed. Bonn), p. 736 sq.; Annal. Einh. a. 811.
² Vita Caroli, c. 16.

tative in the direction of amity, and despatched an ambassador to Charles in the person of another *spatharius*,¹ also called Leo, while the emperor returned the attention by an embassy of his own composed of Jesse, Bishop of Amiens, and count Helmgaud, for the purpose of conducting negotiations looking to the conclusion of a definite treaty of peace.² They were accompanied, if the Greek historians state correctly, by papal legates, and instructed to propose to the Empress of the East a matrimonial union with the new Emperor of the West. The statement, though unsupported by the Frankish records, is not incredible. The grandiose scheme was favorably entertained by the lady, but sternly and violently opposed by the patrician Aëtius, who made it the pretext for the execution of a long-cherished and deeply-laid plot looking to the dethronement of Irene and the elevation of Nicephorus, his brother. The palace revolution was entirely successful, terminated in the fall of Irene, and entailed of course the utter failure of the projected matrimonial alliance. The conspirators arrested and deposed Irene, proclaimed Nicephorus emperor during the night, and crowned him in the morning. She bore her misfortune with dignity, and the ambassadors of Charles saw her on her way to the exile chosen for her in the monastery on Prince's Island, which she herself had founded. This happened October 31st, 802.

Nicephorus, a man of low origin, and distinguished only by his vices, dreading a popular movement in favor of his benefactress, who, in spite of the crimes by which she had procured the purple, was a good sovereign, much beloved by the clergy and people, took advantage of a fierce November gale, sent her to the island of Lesbos, and placed her in close confinement. No person was permitted to see her, and it is said that the ingrate emperor withheld from her even the necessaries of life and compelled her to spin for a

¹ The coincidence is peculiar, but established; see Mühlbacher, *l. c.*, p. 149. *Spatharius* is a term almost equivalent to "knight." The *spatharii* wore a peculiar dress called

scaramangium, a sword, and a chain. —Zanetti, apud Pertz, MG. SS., 14 n. 49.

² Annal. Einh. a. 802.

living. She fell sick, died August 9th, 803, and was buried on Prince's Island. Her unfortunate son survived her, but died in the same obscurity and distress.¹

The Frankish ambassadors left Constantinople, and, accompanied by those of Nicephorus, in due time were received by Charles at Salz. The mission of the Byzantines was pacific, and negotiations looking to a treaty of peace and amity were opened. A preliminary treaty was drawn up and given to them; it seems also that they were directed to return by way of Rome, where they doubtless conferred, at the instance of Charles, with the pope, who invariably appears in negotiations with the Byzantine Court. They also carried an epistle of Charles to Nicephorus, in which, as is inferred from one of later date,² he specified the terms essential to his acceptance of a formal and definite treaty of peace, among which his recognition as Emperor of the West was doubtless the *conditio sine qua non*. Nicephorus, however, was not in a hurry to commit himself on that point, and years elapsed before the proposed peace became reality.³

The Beneventan war, which was resumed immediately after the coronation, lasted throughout the summer, but did not result in much. We only read of the customary devastation of the country, the capture and burning of Chieti, and the taking of Roselmus, its governor, as prisoner of war. Pepin sent him to Aix-la-Chapelle where he arrived on the same day with Zeid, the captive governor of Barcelona, and like him was sent into exile.⁴ Pepin returned to Benevento the next year, and scored new successes in the subjugation of Ortona and Luceria (not Nocera); to the latter place, which had successfully resisted several previous

¹ Annal. Einh., Maxim., Guelph.—Theophan. Chronogr. ap. Bouquet, V., 188; Andr. Dandul. Chron. ap. Murat. Rer. It. SS. XII., 150 D.—Cf. Harnak, *Das Karol. u. Byzant. Reich.* etc., 43; Döllinger, in *Münchener Jahrb.* f. 1865, p. 355, 380, no. 33.

² Epistol. Carol., *l. c.*, 29.

³ See on the whole subject the authorities adduced by Mühlbacher, *l. c.*, p. 160, and Simson, *l. c.*, II., p. 289 sqq.

⁴ Annal. Einh., a. 801, Erchemp. Hist. Langob. c. 6. See p. 413.

sieges and was very strong, he gave a Frankish garrison, commanded by Winigisus, duke of Spoleto, and left. Soon after he had gone the duke succumbed to sickness, induced probably by the unhealthy climate,¹ and the matter becoming known to Grimoald, the latter appeared in force, reconquered the city and took Winigisus and the whole garrison prisoners of war. He held him for an entire year in honorable captivity and then set him free.² Beyond these meagre data nothing is known of the condition of Benevento during the next few years, except that it continued in a state of chronic resistance to the Franks, and experienced the periodical visitations of Pepin.³

Meanwhile his brother Louis had not been inactive, and pushed the progress of Frankish enterprise in Spain. Zeid, the wali of Barcelona, it will be remembered,⁴ submitted himself and his city to Charles as far back as 797. Louis, however, found that Zeid could not be depended on, for on his coming to the vicinity of Barcelona, the wali hastened forth to greet him, but did not surrender the city. Since then Frankish troops, for the space of two years, maintained a desultory siege of the place, which, according to the panegyrist of Louis, was always inimical to the Franks, the rendezvous and hiding-place of enemies, wont to sally forth from thence on destructive and tantalizing raids into the Frankish territory.

The Franks retaliated by similar visitations, generally about harvest-time, when they reaped the crops the Moors had planted, and removed them to their own country.

But as Barcelona succeeded in drawing supplies by the sea, an investment in good earnest, and not by fits and starts, was now undertaken.

A strong army, divided into three corps, was despatched for that purpose. The corps, under command of the king, remained at Roussilon, north of the Pyrenees; the second corps, commanded by Rostagnus, Count of Gerona, had

¹ Cf. Alcuini ep. 165.

³ See p. 309.

² Annal. Einh., Maxim. a. 802; Erchemp. *l. c. c.* 5.

⁴ See p. 295.

orders to invest the city, while the third, commanded by William, Duke of Toulouse, and Hademar, was directed, as an army of observation, and support of the second army, to take up a position west of the beleaguered city.

Barcelona invoked the aid of the emir of Cordova. He sent an army of relief which proceeded to Cæsar-Augusta, *i. e.*, Saragossa, but, finding the corps of Rostagnus in the way, turned in the direction of Asturia, surprised and defeated the Christians, but was in turn defeated with greater loss. Rostagnus then marched upon Barcelona and effected a junction with the investing force.

The siege lasted seven months, and, by a fortunate circumstance, the wali Zeid fell into the hands of the Franks.

It happened, according to the poet, as follows: Zeid, in the extremity of the distress occasioned by famine and disease, essayed the desperate expedient of repairing in person to Cordova, in order to obtain the necessary succors. Having espied from the ramparts a point in the enemy's line less protected than the rest, at which he believed himself able to make his escape into the open country without the knowledge of the Franks, he announced his purpose, charging his friends to hold out until his return, and even, in the event of his capture, refuse to capitulate.

He chose a very dark night for the execution of his purpose; silently a sally-port was opened, and Zeid, mounted on his swiftest horse, rode at its softest tread into the Frankish lines. He had almost cleared the camp unobserved, when the horse unfortunately neighed; the tell-tale sound was heard and the enemy in great numbers flew to the point whence it proceeded. Zeid would fain have made good his escape, but failed; he was taken prisoner, and led to the royal (?) tent. Great was the excitement in the Frankish camp when in the morning the quality of the prisoner became known.

The king, whom the poet places in command, sought to turn the capture to good account, ordered William of Toulouse to take Zeid close to the walls, and compel him to demand the surrender of the city. The duke accordingly

conducted him, the one hand in gyves, but the other free, to a spot adapted to a parley.

"Open the gates, friends!" shouted Zeid to the soldiers on the rampart, "surrender the city; it has held out long enough."

The soldiers heard his words, but observed that he contradicted the command by a sign with his free hand, consisting in a nervous movement of the fingers by which he closed the opened hand. The sign, though quickly and adroitly made, did not escape the eagle eye of William; he flew into a rage at the ruse and struck Zeid with his fist, saying, that but for his duty to the king, he would take his life.

The besieged took the manual direction, and maintained the defence, while the Franks, with redoubled energy, made the most desperate efforts for taking the city by storm. All their engines were set in motion and they breached the walls. But the Saracens still held out, until according to the poetic biographer of Louis, a miracle took place.

Among the volleys of arrows, which flew into the city, they noticed one which rose higher than all the rest, and in its downward course entered and disappeared in a block of marble. That arrow came from a bow of prodigious strength and was sped on its way by no less a person than the king (who was, however, far away at Roussilon). The Saracens beheld their doom in that arrow and capitulated on honorable terms, etc., etc.¹

But to return to history. The wali became a prisoner of war and famine broke out in the city; it is said that the poor people ate old leather curtains,² and cast themselves headlong from the ramparts; the surrender of the city could not be long delayed; the king was sent for that the glory of the capitulation might belong to him;³ and so the city surrendered on honorable terms, the garrison was accorded the privilege of free retreat, but many of the citizens became prisoners of war. It is added, that at the time of

¹ Ermold. Nigell. l. I., 111 sqq.

³ Chron. Moiss. a. 803.

² I read "ostiis detrahare coria;" cf. Vita Caroli, c. 33.

the surrender a temporary garrison was placed into the city, and that on the next day Louis made his solemn entry with military and religious pomp; he proceeded amid hymns of praise to the Church of the Holy Cross¹ where a solemn act of thanksgiving was celebrated. The city was permanently garrisoned by a body of Gothic troops under Count Bera, and Louis returned in peace and triumph into Aquitaine. A special messenger hastened to inform Charles of the fall of Barcelona; Louis also sent to him a share of the spoil as well as the wali Zeid in chains. His fate is known to the reader.² The emperor, at the first intelligence of impending peril in Spain, directed his son King Charles to proceed with an auxiliary force to the seat of war; he had advanced as far as Lyons, when a messenger from his brother brought the news of the fall of Barcelona and that consequently the succors were not required; so he retraced his steps and returned to his father.³

Apart from the military events of this period certain matters relating to foreign politics remain to be narrated. First among these in point of time, and in logical connection with the Moslems of Spain, was the arrival of an embassy from the khalif Harun al Raschid, of whom Einhard writes that such were the relations of Charles to him, that "that prince preferred his favor to that of all the kings and potentates of the earth and considered that to him alone marks of honor and munificence were due. . . ." Further on he states that "Charles had asked for an elephant, and he sent the only one that he had."⁴ If the reader asks, "whence this strong bond of amity between the Defender of the Cross, and the Head of Islam?" the simple answer is,

¹ See on the probability of the existence of that church after ninety years' occupation of Barcelona by the Saracens, the authorities *pro* and *contra* in Simson, *l. c.* II., p. 267, n. 1.

² See p. 409.

³ Annal. Einh. Maxim.; cf. Bouquet, V., 386.—For full accounts see Vita Hlud. c. 13; Ermold Nig. *l. c.*,

Annal. S. Amandi a. 801. Lembke, *Gesch. v. Spanien*, I., 377, n. 3. Funck, *Ludwig d. Fromme*, 288 sq.; 308, 312.

⁴ Vita Caroli, c. 16. It is singular that the Arab authorities contain no reference to intercourse between the khalif and Charles. See Weil, *Gesch. d. Khalifen*, II., 162, no. 2.

"Cordova." On this point these two great men were certainly united, although the fact should not be forgotten that Charles was as ready to fight the emir of Cordova, as those who revolted from his rule.

The embassy was purely one of amity, and informed him that the Jew Isaac, whom he had sent with two ambassadors to Harun, was on the home journey and the bearer of great presents, especially an elephant, but that his ambassadors had died.¹ Isaac was still in Africa,² awaiting a vessel suitable to the transportation of his charge, and the imperial chancellor Ercanbald received orders to proceed to Liguria, prepare, and despatch a ship to Africa for the conveyance of the presents. In due course Isaac arrived in Porto **Oct., 801]** Venere, but finding that snow rendered the passage of the Alps impracticable, spent the winter at Vercelli, and reached Aix-la-Chapelle in July of the next year.

This was the first elephant ever seen in Francia, and its coming created universal excitement, and intense curiosity. It bore the name of Abul-Abbas, which is that of the ancestral head of the Abbassides.³ The elephant did not take kindly to Germany, and died in 810.

Charles acknowledged the courtesy by a personal embassy to Harun, headed by Radbertus, who returned, as was then usual, after the lapse of about four years.⁴

Pending negotiations for peace with the Byzantines, some matters came up of an opposite tendency.

Soon after the Greek ambassadors had left, Fortunatus, Patriarch of Grado, commended himself to Charles with the usual presents, and sought his protection. He came as a fugitive from the indignation of the doges, in consequence of their discovery of his participation in a plot against them. Being personally and favorably known to Charles, for some service in the past, he accomplished the objects of his visit and was confirmed by the emperor in the metropolitical jurisdiction of his see over all its posses-

¹ Annal. Einh. 801.

² See Simson, *l. c.* II., 255 sqq.

³ Annal. Einh., Lauresh., Lauriss., Chron. Moiss.

⁴ Annal. Einh., a. 801, 806, 807.

sions in Istria, Romagna, and Lombardy. The details need not detain us,¹ but his visit is doubtless connected with the history of Venetia, and indicates the source of the emperor's information as to the strong leaning of the doges to the Byzantines.²

The affairs of Venice were hopelessly distracting; there was great rivalry; and about this time the tribune Obelie-**805]** rius, together with his brother Beatus, controlled the government. Impatient of Byzantine supremacy, they suddenly evinced or affected great devotion to Charles, and jointly with Paulus, Duke of Dalmatia, and Donatus, Bishop of Zara, waited upon him at Thionville, laid their offerings at his feet, and formally gave in their submission to his authority.

Charles received it, and forthwith took order for the regulation of the political status of his new vassals, and the people of Venetia and Dalmatia.³

His action caused great dissatisfaction at Constantinople, and indefinitely postponed negotiations for peace.

A most curious circumstance became the occasion of a pontifical visit to Charles. In the summer of 804 the emperor was informed that some of the blood of Christ had been discovered in the city of Mantua. The announcement appeared to him so surprising and important that he wrote to Leo about it, requesting him to investigate the matter, and ascertain if the miracles reported to have been wrought by it were true.

The pope, it seems, thought it best to repair in person to Mantua, and made the inquiry the pretext of a journey to Charles. The phraseology of the record is suggestive; snatching at the opportunity of leaving the city, he went first, ostensibly for the purpose of making the necessary inquiry, to Lombardy, and then by a sudden movement, hastened to visit the emperor. It is not hazardous to infer

¹ See Mühlbacher, *l. c.*, no. 392; and Simson, *l. c.*, II., 293.

² Andr. Dand. Chron., *l. c.*, 150, 154.

³ Chron. Venet., MG. SS., VII., 14, Annal. Einh., Maxim., cf. Vita Caroli, c. 15.

that Rome was beginning to grow uncomfortable for him, and that he sought the benefit of imperial advice. The Saxon poet says that his love of Charles prompted the impulse.¹

At any rate the unexpected announcement of his coming was not displeasing to the emperor, who sent King Charles to meet him as far as St. Maurice, and for the same purpose travelled in person to Rheims. He received Leo in the basilica of St. Remigius, proceeded with him to the imperial villa at Quierzy, and after Christmas, to the monastery of St. Médard near Soissons. There he left the pontiff for a short space (devoted to a visit to his beloved sister Gisla, the abbess of Chelles, who was sick), and rejoining him at Quiercy, conducted him to Aix-la-Chapelle. The pontifical visit extended to about a week after the Epiphany,² and during its continuance ecclesiastical matters were discussed, among which the affairs of the patriarchal see of Aquileia appear to have been prominent. It is also stated, though only on legendary authority, that Leo consecrated on that occasion the Church of St. Mary the Virgin at Aix-la-Chapelle.³ The emperor made the pontiff the recipient of magnificent gifts, and at his request, caused him to be escorted through Bavaria to Ravenna.⁴ The pontifical report on the invention of the blood of Christ at Mantua must have been verbal and unsatisfactory, for the records maintain profoundest silence.

About this time, Charles deplored, and most sorrowfully, the loss of his loved preceptor, counsellor, and friend, the good Alcuin. He died on the 14 Kalends of June, 804, under circumstances, which, if not strictly true, reflect nevertheless the spirit of the age, and the estimate in which he was held.

Throughout the night preceding his death the archbishop Joseph, and others, saw over the spot where he lay in great

¹ Annal. Einh. Poeta Saxo., iv., 140 (Jaffé).

² Annal. Einh., Maxim., Mett.

³ Annal. Tiliens; Epist. Leonis, apud. Jaffé, IV., 321.

⁴ Annal. Einh., Maxim., Lauriss., minor.

weakness, a globe of fire of singular brightness, which disappeared at dawn of Whitsun Day, at the precise moment when Alcuin's soul, attended by celestial ministrants, was conducted to heaven.

At that identical instant of time, a hermit, in far-away Italy, was privileged to witness the same wonderful translation; he saw the host of the heavenly Levites, and heard their ineffable hymns of praise, as they conducted Alcuin, arrayed in a dalmatic of dazzling white, to heaven, to enter upon the perennial joys of his celestial ministry in presence of the Great High-priest above.¹

805] One of the most striking features, common to all the Annals, is the constant record of the place at which Charles spent Christmas and Easter of each year of his long reign. Christmas in particular was then as now the most gladsome of all the Christian feasts, and the occasion of family gatherings; that was the rule in the home of Charles, but among all the Christmas festivities, those of the year 805 appear to have been among the most joyous. They took place at Thionville and, presuming that King Charles was as usual present with his father, the undoubted arrival of the kings of Italy and Aquitaine justifies the affirmation of one of the Annals that Charles celebrated that Christmas with "all his sons,"² and the literal acceptance of the phrase, that he did so with exultant rejoicing.³

The meeting was doubtless of set purpose, and at his special request; he was now in the sixty-fourth year of his age, and, true to the traditions of his house, desired to make an equitable and lawful division among his sons of his vast dominions. Taking it for granted that, with his established caution, every point had been well considered before **806]** his sons came, and freely discussed in all its bearings after their arrival, it is only necessary to state that the emperor convened a Diet of the most distinguished estates

¹ Vita B. Alcuini, c. XV., Monum. Pepin, the Hunchback, of course, is Alcuin. p. 32, and note, p. 31. excluded.

² Annal. Maxim., "Cum omnibus filiis suis," i. e., those of Hildegard; ³ Annal. Mett. "Cum gaudio et exultacione."

of the Franks at Thionville, and announced his purpose to the effect that the proposed partition of the empire into three parts should subserve the ends of peace, so that each of his sons might be certified beforehand as to the portion of the empire over which he was to reign.¹

800] The extreme importance of this well-attested instrument cannot be overrated. The division, it is true, was frustrated by the early deaths of Charles and Pepin, but the principles laid down in it have had an important bearing on the subsequent history of Germany, France, and Italy, and their frontiers. Indeed it may be viewed in the light of a veiled history of the reign of Charles, and a revelation of his secret thoughts and feelings on matters which Einhard and other annalists pass over in silence. For these reasons it is given entire.

"In the Name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost. Serenissimus Charles Augustus of God crowned Great and Pacific Emperor, ruling the Roman empire, and by Divine mercy King of the Franks, and of the Lombards, to all the faithful of the Church of God, and to all our loyal subjects, present or future, greeting.

"We believe that all of you know that God, who of His mercy is wont to check for generations to come the inevitable tendency of all earthly things to fall into decay, has in the gift of three sons, enriched us with His singular blessing and mercy; for through them He confirms our vows as to the perpetuity of this government, and makes us hope that our memory will be preserved to distant generations.

"Be it therefore known to you that it is our will, by Divine permission, to constitute these our sons, our associates in the throne while we continue to live, and heirs of our government and empire after our decease, and that loth to transmit this inheritance to them in confusion and disorder, so as to provoke strife and dispute, we purpose to divide the entire body of the empire into three parts, and assign to each of their number the part he is to rule and

¹ Annal. Einh., Maxim.

defend; and agreeably thereto, that each, we hope, will be satisfied with the lot we appoint to him, and by the help of God give all diligence to defend the frontiers of such part against enemies without, but maintain peace and love with his brothers.

"1. It has pleased us to make the division of our kingdom and empire as here follows: To our beloved son Louis we have assigned the whole of Aquitaine and Vasconia, except the canton of Tours [Touraine]; and whatever lieth beyond that point looking westward and towards Spain; the city of Nevers on the Loire with its canton, as well as the cantons of Avalon, Auxois, Chalon-sur-Saône, Mâcon, Lyons, Savoy, Maurienne, Tarentaise, Mount Cenis, the valley of Susa to the Cluses [*clausas*]; thence following the mountains bordering upon Italy to the sea; these cantons with their cities, and whatsoever beyond them lieth to the westward unto the sea, and unto Spain; that is to say, this part of Burgundy, Provence, Septimania, and Gothia.

"2. To our beloved son Pepin we have apportioned Italy, which is also called Lombardy, and Bavaria, such as Tassilo had it, excepting only the two villas of Ingolstadt and Lutrahahof, which we have given in benefice to Tassilo and which belong to the Northgau, together with that part of Alemannia situated upon the southern bank of the river Danube, and from the sources of the Danube to the Rhine, within the confines of the Chletgau, and the Hegau, to a point called Engi, and thence following the course of the Upper Rhine even unto the Alps; whatsoever is contained within these limits looking southward and eastward together with the duchy of Chur [Coire], and the canton of Torgau.

"3. To our beloved son Charles we have assigned whatever of our dominion lieth outside of the limits aforesaid, that is, France and Burgundy, except that part which we have given to Louis; and Alemannia, except that part which we have assigned to Pepin; Austria and Neustria, Thuringia, Saxonia, Frisia, and that part of Bavaria which is called the Northgau; so that Charles and Louis may go into

Italy to carry aid to Pepin, should the necessity arise, Charles, by the valley of Aosta, which belongs to his kingdom, and Louis by the valley of Susa; and that Pepin likewise may come or go by the Norican Alps and Chur.

"4. In making these dispositions, we provide that if Charles, our first-born, should die before his brothers, the portion of the empire which belonged to him shall be divided between Pepin and Louis, as aforesaid such division was made between us and our brother Carloman, in such wise that Pepin shall receive the share once had by our brother Carloman, and Louis the share which in the same apportionment fell unto ourself.

"But should Pepin during the lifetime of Charles and Louis pay the debt of nature, then Charles and Louis are to divide among themselves his kingdom, and effect such division as follows: entering Italy by the city of Aosta, Charles is to receive Yorée, Verceil, Pavia, and the country along the river Po to the territory of Reggio; the city of Reggio, the New City, and Modena, even unto the territory of St. Peter. These cities with their suburbs and territories, and the counties thereunto belonging, and whatever on the way to Rome is situated on the left, together with the duchy of Spoleto, shall be the kingdom of Pepin to be given to Charles, as aforesaid; but that part of the said kingdom which on the way to Rome is situated to the right of the aforesaid cities and counties, that is, the remaining part of the country beyond the Po [Transpadana], together with the duchy of Toscana, unto the Southern Sea, and unto the Provence, shall go to the augmentation of the kingdom of Louis.

"In the event of Louis dying during the lifetime of his brothers, Pepin is to receive that part of Burgundy which we have added to his kingdom together with the Provence, Septimania or Gothia, as far as Spain; but Aquitaine and Vasconia are to go to Charles.

"5. If there be born to any of these three brothers a son whom the people wish to choose as his father's successor in the throne, it is our will that the uncles of such child shall give their consent to their choice, and permit the son of

their brother to rule in that portion of the kingdom over which his father, their brother, did rule.¹

"6. After these dispositions by our authority set forth, it has pleased us to establish and ordain as betwixt our sons, that in view of the peace which we desire to establish forever amongst them, none of them presume to invade his brother's frontiers, or fraudulently enter them with intent to trouble his kingdom, or diminish his territory; but that each shall help his brother and, so far as reason, or his ability, may permit, aid him against enemies, either at home, or against foreign nations.

"7. That none of the brothers shall receive any subject of his brother, who for whatsoever cause or crime shall fly to him for refuge, or make intercession for him, because it is our will and pleasure that a man at fault and standing in need of intercession, shall seek refuge within his own master's kingdom, either by taking sanctuary at the Holy Places or with honorable persons, and there shall render himself worthy of such intercession. . . .

"8. Likewise we ordain that any free man who against the wishes of his lord leaves him and passes from one kingdom to another, shall not be received by the king, nor shall the king allow him to be received by his subjects, or by them unjustly be detained. . . .

"9. For which cause it seems expedient to us to ordain that after our decease, a subject of any one of our sons shall hold benefice only in the kingdom of his own lord, but not in that of another, lest such practice give occasion to trouble. Nevertheless such a subject may with impunity enjoy an inheritance in that kingdom where of right he may possess the same.

"10. A freeman may, after his master's death, commend

¹ Schmidt, *l. c. t.* III., p. 44, observes on this clause that it explains the principle on which Charles excluded the children of his deceased brother Carloman from the succession. The nobles of Carloman's kingdom

preferred him, and that settled the matter. The grounds of their preference are not stated, but doubtless proceeded from the *argumentum ad hastam*.

himself [that is, become vassal] to any one within the three kingdoms; the same to apply to persons who have not yet commended themselves.

" 11. Concerning cessions, bequests, or purchases, betwixt several parties, it is ordered that none of the three brothers shall receive or acquire by title of cession, bequest, or purchase, any real estate within his brother's kingdom, such as lands, vineyards, forests, serfs [*servi*], and slaves [*casati*], and all other things in the name of inheritance comprised, except gold, silver, gems, arms, vestments, emancipated slaves, and all other things which are properly negotiable. But this shall not apply to other freemen.

" 12. If women, as is usual, are lawfully asked in marriage from one of the three kingdoms, such just demand is not forbidden, but expressly allowed, and such marriages may be contracted, seeing that by such affinities the several nations may be the closer bound together. Women, moreover, may freely dispose of their possessions within the kingdom of their nativity, although because, and in consequence, of their marriage they should live in another kingdom.

" 13. Concerning hostages given in pledge, and by us sent for safe keeping to sundry places, it is our will that the king in whose kingdom they happen to be, shall not, without the express consent of the king from whose kingdom they were taken, suffer them to return to the land of their birth. Contrariwise it is enjoined that the brothers shall hereafter mutually aid and protect each other in the custody of hostages whensoever one of their number shall make of the other a reasonable demand of this kind. It is ordered that the same principle apply to persons now in exile, or to be exiled, because of crimes by them committed.

" 14. In the event of differences and disputes respecting the frontiers and confines of the several kingdoms which cannot be settled by evidence, it is our will that the declaration of the matter in doubt, the will of God, and the truth of the facts be ascertained by the judgment of the cross [ordeal], and that such cause be never decided by

war, or any kind of combat. And if a subject of one kingdom appear before his own lord charging the subject of another kingdom with disloyalty to his lord's brother, his lord shall send such plaintiff to his brother, that he may there prove his charge.

" 15. Above all things we command and enjoin that the three brothers unite in undertaking the care and protection of the Church of St. Peter, even as aforetime was done by our grandfather Charles, by our father Pepin, of blessed memory, and afterwards by ourself; that with the help of God they will exert themselves in protecting her from enemies, and so far as they are bound, and reason may require, in the enjoyment of all her rights. We enjoin the same with respect to all other churches placed under their care; in order that they may enjoy their rights and honors, and that the pastors and rectors of all venerable places may have power over all things to them pertaining, no matter in which of the three kingdoms the possessions of such churches may be situated.

" 16. If, contrary to our expectation, these our statutes and conventions shall through ignorance or inadvertence be infringed upon, we command that such infringement be at once corrected, lest through delay still greater mischief should ensue.

" 17. As to our daughters, the sisters of our sons aforesaid, we command that after our decease any of them shall be at liberty to choose the brother in whose kingdom, and under whose care, she desires to make her home. If any of them makes choice of the monastic profession, she shall be at liberty to live honorably under that brother's protection whose kingdom she shall choose. If any of them be justly and reasonably asked in marriage of a man worthy of her, and she prefer the married estate, her brothers shall not oppose her wishes, provided that the intentions both of the suitor and of her who accepts his suit, be honest and reasonable.

" 18. As to our grandsons, the sons of our aforesaid sons, born or to be born, it has pleased us to command that none

of our sons, upon any pretext whatever, shall cause any of our grandsons, who to any of them may be accused of crime, to be put to death, mutilated, blinded, or forcibly shaved [*i. e.* sent to a monastery], without a just trial and examination previously had; and to notify our will that they may be honored near their fathers and uncles, and likewise that they be obedient unto them in all subjection as pertaining to such degree of consanguinity.

"19. Finally it is ordained that should we see fit hereafter to add unto these present decrees and constitutions, other provisions profitable and useful to our beloved sons aforesaid, such additions shall be kept and observed as we enjoy that these present decrees and statutes shall be kept, and observed.

"20. All these things, moreover, are here in order set forth and established with the proviso, that so long as it may please the Majesty of God to preserve our life, our power over this government and empire shall remain unchanged and unimpaired, as heretofore it has been, in every attribute of royal or imperial prerogative, and that we may have the full obedience both of our beloved sons, and of our people beloved of God, with all the submission due a father from his sons, and an emperor and king from his subjects. Amen."¹

Reading this remarkable instrument, the transcript of the hidden purpose of the heart of Charles, in the light of the history unfolded in this volume, it is difficult to resist the conviction that Article 5 not only seeks to justify his usurpation of the inheritance of right belonging to the children of Carloman, but that it expresses remorse, or the workings of a conscience not at ease.²

The several points enumerated in the next nine articles illustrate the working of the feudal system and the rude state of society and morals.

¹ My translation follows the text of Boretius, *l. c.*, p. 126 sqq.

² Boretius, *l. c.*; Simson, *De statu quæstionis, etc.*, p. 32, No. 1.; Manitius, *Neues Archiv*, VII., 564; cf.

Leibnitz, *Annal. imp.* I., 239-242; Muratori, *Annali d'Italia*, IV., 2, p. 240 sqq.; Luden, *l. c.* V., 218-221, 572 sq.; Waitz, IV., 554 sqq.

Article 17 seems to imply the injurious reports current as to the daughters of the imperial family, and Article 19, as plainly intimates that Charles thought the brothers capable of such atrocity as therein described. Nor was he mistaken, for Louis, their sole survivor, meted it out to Bernhard, the lawful son and heir of Pepin.

If the document is genuine, as not generally admitted by competent critics, it settles the point of the legitimacy of his other sons, for he recognizes only three.

The document was adopted and sworn to by the nobility assembled, and sent by the hands of Einhard to the pope for his cognizance and written approbation.¹

¹ The date of this document is fixed by an entry in Cod. No. 272, Biblioth. Sangall. p. 272, of contemporary origin, reading: "Anno 806 ab incarnatione Domini, indictione 14. anno 38 regnante Karolo imperatore, 8. Id. Febr. die Veneris, divisum est regnum illius inter filiis suis, quantum unusquis post illum habet, et ego alia die hoc opus. . . ."

CHAPTER IV.

EVENTS FROM THE DIVISION OF THE EMPIRE TO THE DEATH OF PEPIN.

In *Italy*: Piratical descents of the Saracens.—Grimoald *Storesaiz*, duke of Benevento.—Relations of Pepin to Leo, and to the Byzantines.—Submission of Venetia.

In *Spain*: Struggle for Tortosa; two ineffectual investments of the place.

In the *Empire*: Embassies to and from Bagdad.—Presents.—Restoration of the fugitive king of Northumbria.—Danish invasion by Gottfried, of Northalbingia.—Fortresses.—Commissioners of peace.—Assassination of Thrasco, an ally of Charles.—Danish descent upon Frisia.—Charles marches against Gottfried.—His fate.—Camp at Verden-on-the-Aller.—Death of Pepin.—Domestic sorrows.—The epizooty.—A prodigy.—The *Filioque*.

806] AFTER the adjournment of the Diet Charles sailed down the Moselle and the Rhine to Nimeguen, while his royal sons, Pepin and Louis, returned to their distant dominions.¹

An interval of about five years lies between the partition of the empire, or the first and public testament of Charles, and his second testament concerning his personal estate. In tracing the course of events belonging to that period, we propose to take up first the affairs of Italy, then those of Aquitaine and Spain, and lastly those of the empire at large.

The frequent piratical descents, by the Moors of Spain, upon Corsica, Sardinia, and other islands were most vexatious and needed chastisement. King Pepin accordingly fitted out a fleet against them and ordered it to Corsica; at its unexpected approach the pirates made for their fast vessels and sailed away, not however without a fight, impru-

¹ Annal. Einh.

dently brought on by the Genoese count Hadumar, in which he lost his life. Otherwise the Franks scored an almost bloodless victory, and, under the law of conquest, claimed the island of Corsica, which the Moors, by the same right, had snatched from the Greeks.¹ The pirates, however, did not return empty; besides the Corsican plunder they carried off sixty monks from the small island of Patalaria, between Sicily and Africa, and sold them in Spain. Their misfortune excited the sympathy of the emperor, who generously ransomed, and restored them to their home.² By direct command of Charles, an imperial fleet, under the constable Burchard, was despatched into Corsican **807]** waters in anticipation of another visit of the pirates in the year following. They came in due course, and began operations with a descent upon Sardinia; the inhabitants gave them a warm reception and signally defeated them in an engagement with a loss to the pirates of three thousand.

Still enough of their number survived to undertake the unfinished part of their enterprise. Sailing straight for Corsica, they ran into the jaws of the Frankish fleet; Burchard compelled them to fight, defeated them, took thirteen of their vessels, killed a large number of their men, and drove the rest to flight.³

Leo took a peculiar interest in the conquest of that island by the Franks as included in the alleged grants to St. Peter made by certain patricians, emperors, and other God-fearing men for the salvation of their souls, and in atonement of their sins.⁴ Having received several communications on the subject from Charles, alluding to the restoration, to St. Peter, of divers papal possessions on the island, he notifies the emperor, in reply, of his willingness of leaving the final adjustment of the said claims, based on deeds of donation and promises, with him, and after advertising to certain oral messages of the emperor's delivered by

¹ Annal. Einh., Enh. Fuld., Maxim.

³ Annal. Einh., Maxim., Enh. Fuld.

² Annal. Einh., "aliqui;" Maxim.
a. 807; "multi."

⁴ Cod. Carol., ep. 61 (Jaffé).

Count Helmgaud, expresses the confident and prayerful expectation that the imperial donation may be permanent, and through the joint intercession of the Virgin Mary, and the apostles St. Peter and St. Paul, as well as the emperor's most valiant arm, safe from the insidious malice of enemies.¹

The last especially was needed, for the Moors returned two years later, and on Easter Even, when the Christians were preparing for the high festival of the Resurrection, fell upon a city in Corsica, plundered it, and, with the exception of the bishop and a few infirm and aged people, dragged the entire population into captivity.²

810] This they followed up, in the following year, on a much larger scale, with a powerful fleet from all parts of Spain, which, after touching in Sardinia, sailed for Corsica, and finding the island utterly unprotected, devastated and almost wholly subdued it. Then they sailed away, but returned in the autumn and consummated the conquest.³

In Italy proper the duke of Benevento successfully maintained his independence to the last. He died in 806, and was succeeded by another Grimoald, surnamed *Storesaiz*, a Lombard word signifying "the treasurer," in allusion to his official position in the reign of his predecessor. He was a man of a pacific turn of mind, but his policy towards the Franks was unfriendly throughout this period.⁴

The personal relations of Leo and Pepin were not good. This appears from the pontiff's epistle to Charles,⁵ protesting that "while his feelings for Pepin were sincerely cordial, bad men were ever sowing *zizania* [that is, tares], and making mischief;" continuing "that he had received the presents and letters with which Charles had honored him and been much gratified by the announcement of a promised visit, at mid-Lent, of King Pepin; that he had made the necessary preparations, but on the day before the ap-

¹ Leonis III., ep. I., Jaffé, IV., 310 sqq.

² Annal. Einh., Maxim. a. 809.

³ Annal. Einh., Maxim. a. 810.

⁴ Annal. Laur. min.—Erchempert,

l.c., c. 7 Chron. S. Bened. Cas.; Agobard, *De grandine*, etc., in Bibl. Patr. Lugd. XIV., 74; Pasch. Radb. MG. SS., II., 527.

⁵ The same as in note 1.

pointed meeting Pepin sent messengers saying that he could not come till after Easter; that the imperial *missi*, moreover, had informed him, the pope, that their imperial master had commanded them to proceed to Pepin, enjoining him, in his father's name, to consent to a personal interview with himself, at a convenient point, for the purpose of establishing peace and concord between the king and himself; that he was truly grateful for these, the emperor's good offices, who justly bore the title of *pacificus*, and illustrated the biblical description of an evangelist of peace,¹ assuring him of his ready co-operation towards promoting the rights of the churches of God and placing the coasts in a proper state of defence against pagan and inimical assaults, adding that both he, the pope, and Pepin needed the emperor's counsel and help."²

It is not known how the matter ended, but it appears from a second epistle of Leo's to Charles, written after Easter, 808, that the imperial *missi* on their return-journey stopped at Ravenna, and on Palm-Sunday took luncheon with the archbishop. The pope submits that the emperor had better ask the *missi*, if the lessons and exhortations they heard there were appropriate to Lent, for his own sense of shame forbade his setting them down in writing.³

This shows that there was not much love lost between Rome and Ravenna, and the understanding between Rome and Verona, the favorite residence of Pepin, was not much better.

The Byzantines, however, gave the king of Italy more to do than the Moors, Benevento, and the pope. The Court of Constantinople resented the action of Charles in the matter of Venice and Dalmatia.⁴ A fleet, commanded by the patrician Nicetas, having orders to reconquer Dalmatia, **806]** appeared in Venetian waters and blockaded the coast. The Venetians, if their historian writes truly, straightway forgot their allegiance to Charles and furnished military aid to the Greek admiral.⁵ The patriarch Fortunatus ran away

¹ "How beautiful are the feet," etc.

² Leonis III., ep. I.

³ Ibid., ep. 2.

⁴ See p. 415.

⁵ Annal. Einh., Andr. Dandul. *l.c.*

I. VII., c. 14.

from Grado, and, again by the emperor's favor, was enabled to take up his seat at Polo in Istria, though not without a gentle demurrer on the part of Leo, who did not hold him either in the bonds of brotherly love.¹ The blockade was not effective, for a vessel having on board the ambassadors of Charles to Harun, now on their return-journey, together with an ambassador from Harun and a deputation from Jerusalem, ran it without trouble, and entered the port of Treviso.² The nature of the hostilities perpetrated by the Byzantines cannot be determined, but there is no uncertainty whatever concerning the moral effects of the Greek fleet. Nicetas appears to have been a man of great tact and ability, for he succeeded in alienating the doges and their party from the Franks. He conferred on the doge Obelierius the dignity of a *spatharius*, and induced Beatus his brother to accompany him (with Venetian hostages, as well as the bishop of Olivolo and the tribune Felix "because they favored the Franks") to Constantinople. Having thus re-established the authority of the Byzantine emperor, he had no difficulty in moving Pepin to agree to an armistice to last until August next ensuing (*i. e.*, 808), and the preliminaries of a treaty of peace, subject to ratification by Nicephorus. He raised the blockade, and having accomplished the objects of his expedition, among which should be understood the submission of Dalmatia, sailed away. Nicephorus seems to have approved the action of his admiral, for he sent the Francophile bishop and tribune into banishment, but rewarded the converted Beatus with the honorary distinction of *hypatos*, or titular consul, and allowed him to return to Venice, where he and his brother Obelierius associated their third brother Valentinus with themselves in the government, so that Venice might now boast of a fraternal triumvirate of doges.³

¹ Chron. Johan. in MG. SS. VII., 13 sqq. Cf. Leonis III., ep. 5 (Jaffé); Liber de S. Hildulfi, MG. SS. IV., 88.

² Annal. Einh., cf. Vita Caroli, c. 16 and below.

³ Annal. Einh. a. 807; Joh. Chron. Venet., *l. c.* p. 14.—Cf. Harnak, *Das Karoling. u. Byzantin. Reich*, p. 49; and on *hypatos*, Zanetti apud Pertz, MG. SS. VII., no. 50.

The truce expired, but the peace fell through, and another [809] Greek armament appeared in the Adriatic, which, after touching in Dalmatia, sailed to Venice and spent the winter there. A squadron, under orders to attack Comacchio, had an engagement with the garrison, was defeated, and compelled to return to Venice. Paulus, who was in command of the fleet, showed a conciliatory disposition and, alleging to have orders to negotiate for peace, opened communications with the king of Italy, but finding that the doges bitterly opposed him in every way, and imperilled his safety by secret machinations, cut the Gordian knot and sailed away.

It is difficult to explain the policy of the doges. Their action against the admiral seemed inimical to the Byzantines, and it was clearly not friendly to the Franks. Did they intrigue for independence, thinking it their advantage to keep the belligerents asunder? Perhaps they only played fast and loose, for a favorable turn. They were certainly slippery and treacherous, and it might be argued, that any arrangement which placed Venice under Frankish domination would be odious to them, as entailing a punishment which they knew they richly deserved.¹

There is little doubt that Pepin regarded their conduct as perfidious, and resented it by ordering an attack upon Venice by land and by sea. An armament, having on board a very powerful army of Lombard troops, including cavalry, penetrated to the heart of Venetia, crossed the lagoons, or, in the language of a Venetian authority, the "ports" which separate the isles, under great difficulties, took Palestrina, and advanced to a place, now disappeared, called Albiola, which was situated near Malamocco. At that point the Venetians were able to check the advance of the enemy, by blocking the channel with masts and spars which they sunk in the shallow water. This, it is said, prevented the vessels of Pepin from carrying his troops, which were posted on the coast, to the Rialto, and compelled him

¹ I do not pretend to explain the puzzle. See Döllinger, *l. c.*, pp. 357, 381, Harnak, *l. c.*, p. 50; and Simson, *l. c.*, II., p. 395, text and notes.

to confine his operations to a blockade by land for the space of six months. To this dubious account must be added the fabulous story that the doges attacked and defeated Pepin with great loss at Albiola and forced him to withdraw in confusion.¹ Other versions still more fabulous, and demonstrably the manufacture of a later period, need not be repeated. We drop therefore the Venetian account, and, though admitting the probability of a check to the army of Pepin, state the result of the expedition in the language of the Frankish annals, to wit, that Pepin subdued Venetia and **810**] compelled the doges to make their submission. This appears to be established and confirmed by a Greek writer, saying, that the Venetians, owing to the distress caused by the long blockade and the devastation of their country, were forced to sue for peace.² The fleet of Pepin thereupon was ordered to proceed to the coast of Dalmatia and waste the country, but that part of the expedition proved an utter failure, for the arrival of Paulus, Prefect of Cephalaria, who came with a Greek fleet in aid of the Dalmatians, compelled the Franks to desist from their purpose and sail away.

It may not be superfluous to add that the explicit record of the failure, by the same authority which notes the previous success, enhances of course the credibility of the whole.³

We now turn to the kingdom of Aquitaine and the affairs of Spain. The first event to be chronicled is the submission **806**] of Navarra and Pampeluna. The first reduction of these cities to Frankish authority occurred twenty-eight years before when Charles invaded the peninsula in person. Since then, most probably in recent years, the victorious

¹ "Confusus recessit."—Joh. Chron. Ven. p. 15.

² Const. Porphyro. de administr. imper. c. 28, ed. Bonn.

³ The authorities for this, the last military enterprise of Pepin, are the following: Annal. Einh., Maxim.—Joh. Chron. Venet. MG. SS. VII., 14, 22; Const. Porphyro., De adm. imp.

c. 28 (ed. Bonn); Andr. Dand. apud Muratori, Rer. Ib. SS. XII., 158 sq. —Cf. Harnak, *l. c.*, p. 51 n.—Mühlbacher, *l. c.*, no. 437 a. See an exhaustive critical examination of the legendary account of the attack of Venetia in Simson, *l. c.*, II., Excursus, VI., p. 594 sqq.

emir of Cordova reconquered them, as Arab authorities state the case, while the Frankish annals speak of their defection to the Saracens. The circumstances under which they returned to Frankish allegiance are unknown.¹

We have better information of an aggressive movement directed against the city of Tortosa, at the mouth of the Ebro. It was strongly fortified and commanded that river. Its importance as a military position did not escape the emperor's eye. He accordingly directed Louis, in a personal interview with him at Aix-la-Chapelle (February, 809), to strike a blow for its possession. The king of Aquitaine moved at the head of a seemingly adequate army into Spain, and proceeded to St. Columba, two marches west of Barcelona in the direction of Lerida. There he divided it into two columns, a greater and a lesser. With the former, under his own command, he marched to Tarragona and captured the Moslems whom he found there, that is, those who were unable to escape. Detached companies scoured the country and spread consternation throughout the region; he set on fire and destroyed whatever lay in his path; hamlets, castles and cities, all the way to Tortosa, were laid in ruins; and then, having by such indiscriminate destruction isolated the place, he pitched his camp under its walls. The second column, evidently composed of picked troops, and conducted by able commanders, among whom Isambard, Hademar, Bera, and Burellus are mentioned by name, was under orders to cross the Ebro, surprise the enemy from the rear and either attack or otherwise harass him.

The work assigned to the raiding expedition was difficult and perilous. It had to proceed with the greatest caution and, in order to conceal the movement, was obliged to turn night into day. The raiders marched only by night and rested during the day in the dense seclusion of the woods;

¹ Annal. Einh. Maxim. a. 806.—319 sq.; Foss, *Ludwig d. Fromme vor Vita Hludov. c. 18*, cf. also Annal. Metten., and for a rich crop of conjectures: Leibniz, *Ann. imp. I.*, 244; Funck, *Ludwig d. Fromme*, p. 30 sq. also Lembke, *Gesch. von Spanien*, I., 378.

they were even forbidden to light camp-fires, lest the smoke should betray them. Thus stealthily advancing they reached on the morning of the seventh day the neighborhood of the Cinca, swam that stream, which after its junction with the Segre, forms a confluence with the Ebro at Mequinenza. Near the latter point they also swam this river and forthwith began the work of devastation throughout the region, one of the most fertile and opulent sections of the whole peninsula. Thus they advanced without opposition to a place of considerable size, called Villa-Rubea, and as the Saracens in the consternation of such a sudden irruption gave what they had or fled in hot haste, they were able to carry off rich spoils. But the news of their coming spread like wildfire, and a considerable (*non minima*) multitude of Saracens and Moors (*sic*) collected near the opening of the Valla-Ibana, a deep ravine hidden between high and precipitous rocks, to dispute their passage in a well-set ambush.

Had the raiders entered that hollow they would either have been killed to a man or taken prisoners, for escape was impossible. But precaution and prudence, or some other cause, directed their course and led them to make choice of another road, not as direct, and seemingly in a line opposite to their advance.

The Moors seeing them turn round, thought they were flying and gave the pursuit. The Franks soon disabused them, for leaving the spoils, they faced about, engaged, defeated, and chased their Moslem pursuers; those who fell into their hands, they put to the sword; then taking up the spoils, and flushed with victory, they began and completed the return march. They accomplished this plucky and successful raid in twenty days and, it is added, with inconsiderable loss.

The king doubtless rejoiced at the safe return of his troops with such valuable booty, and would have rejoiced still more had his own operations been correspondingly successful. His biographer records with laconic and judicious brevity that after devastating the country all around, he

returned home. A supplementary notice, on Arab authority, explains that brevity.

It seems that El Hakem, the emir of Cordova, at the first intelligence of the Frankish invasion, ordered his son Abd-el-Rhaman, then at Saragossa, to effect a junction of his available forces with those of the emir of Valencia and by forced marches hasten to the relief of Tortosa. His order was instantly and intelligently obeyed; the Moslems attacked the Franks in their camp, defeated them, and compelled Louis to raise the siege and retreat. They were nevertheless not strong enough to give the pursuit.¹

809] About the same time a curious incident occurred, which claims attention. Count Aureolus, the Frankish commandant who had his head-quarters in the Spanish Marche at a point opposite to Huesca and Saragossa, died, and at his death, a certain Amoroz, wali of those cities, occupied his territory and put garrisons into his castles. He then sent an embassy to Charles, charged to explain or justify his strange proceedings on the plea that it was his purpose to submit himself with all things to him belonging, and according to another notice, with all his people, to Frankish rule. **810]** The emperor must have thought favorably of the proposal, for he sent legates in return requiring the crafty Amoroz to fulfil his promise. He made further promises and proposed a conference with the Frankish counts in the Spanish Marche at which the promised submission was to take place. The emperor approved also of this proposal, but the matter fell through, because "many causes occurred to prevent." What they were we do not learn. But the sequel seems to imply that the whole thing was a ruse, and as objectionable to the Moslems as to the Franks; the affair became the subject of diplomatic intercourse and led to the appointment of an Arab embassy to Charles, empowered to treat of peace. It was virtually concluded, and

¹ Annal. Einh.; Vita Hlud. c. 14; Mocri, MS. Arab. 704.—See also cf. Ademar, apud Duchesne, II., 84.—Funck, *l. c.*, 290 sq.; Lembke, *l. c.*, I., Conde. I., pt. II., p. 35; Fauriel 379, note 2. names the Arab historian, Ahmed el

in reciprocation of the emir El Hakem setting free the Frankish Count Haimrich, a prisoner of war, the emperor appears to have surrendered, or, at any rate, relinquished his hold upon his dubious vassal Amoro, who was forced by Abd-el-Rhaman, the emir's son, to fly from Saragossa and escape to Huesca.¹ The terms of the peace, according to a Spanish writer, were these:

The Moors and the Franks to live in peace; each of the two sovereigns to be satisfied with the territory then in his possession; the king of Cordova to drive his vassal Amoro from the fortresses, and restore to Charles the count Henricus, for some time past a prisoner in his hands.—El Hakem fulfilled the terms of this agreement, set the count at liberty, and commanded his son to take up arms against Amoro, faithless alike to both kings. Abd-el-Rhaman forced him out of Saragossa, and pursued him to Huesca, where he intended to fortify himself.²

The first two conditions appear to be purely imaginary; at least they were flatly contradicted by the events then in progress.

The peace, moreover, cannot have been general, for it did not stop hostilities. A new expedition, destined to accomplish the objects proposed in that of the preceding year, was ordered to be prepared. Louis intended to conduct it in person, but the emperor decided otherwise; the military ability he then displayed did not render his presence indispensable, besides he was wanted for other work of great urgency. He was directed to push and watch the building of ships on the Rhone, the Garonne, and the Silida (?),³ for service against the Northmen,⁴ and count Ingobert was accordingly placed in command as his lieutenant or representative.

He safely conducted the army to Barcelona and held a military council; it was decided that the former plan with

¹ Annal. Einh. a. 809, 810; Maxim., a. 810.

² Historia Critica de España, XII., p. 114 sq.

³ It is not known what river is meant. Conjectures are abundant.

⁴ See p. 443.

a diversion beyond the Ebro should be repeated. The bulk of the force was to remain with count Ingobert and undertake the siege of Tortosa. A flying column of picked men, commanded by Hademar and Bera, was to march to the Ebro and observe the same cautions as before; it was ordered, however, that they should not swim the river, but cross on boats. For this purpose the necessary number of boats was built in sections, four sections to each boat, each section to be drawn by two horses or mules. Clamps and nails for putting them together, as well as pitch, wax, and oakum for calking the seams, were provided, and when all was ready, the raiders set out on their perilous venture. Their former experience stood them in good stead, and as they were neither encumbered with unnecessary baggage, nor troubled with tents, they did not loiter by the way, and as stealthily and unobserved as on the former occasion,¹ performed the journey in only three days, or less than half the time then consumed. On the fourth day the men crossed the Ebro on the boats, but the horses swam the river.

Nevertheless they failed in surprising the foe. It seems that the wali of Tortosa had been on the alert, and in anticipation of a sudden descent placed troops on both banks of the Ebro, which proves that he had profited by past experience. Now it so happened that a Moor, while bathing, detected in the water evidence of the presence of Frankish horses and gave the alarm. Two mounted sentries galloped up the river and, sighting the enemy in force, informed their brethren who fled in hot haste and left their camp, with all its belongings, as it stood, so that the Franks could take and turn it to good use by spending the next night in Arab tents.

On the following day Abaidun, wali of Tortosa, came out to meet them. An engagement took place in which the Moors, though greatly superior in numbers, were defeated with great loss. The Franks gave the pursuit and killed the flying enemy until night stayed the massacre. They

¹ See p. 433.

gathered a rich booty, and, flushed with victory, repaired to the investing host to join in the operations against Tortosa. But here they were not successful, for the Moors defended their city with skill and valor, and defied the efforts of count Ingobert, who was at last compelled to raise the siege and return.¹

Events belonging to this period, other than legislative and administrative, in which the emperor appears personally, are now in order. The reader will remember the ship which ran the blockade and entered the port of Treviso.² It bore the emperor's ambassadors to Harun al Raschid, returning, and accompanied by Abdallah, the khalif's ambassador to Charles, together with George and Felix, two monks from Jerusalem, who came on a mission from the patriarch Thomas.³ Abdallah was the bearer of many rare, costly and artistic presents, which excited universal interest and admiration. Besides rich silken vestments, perfumes, salves, and balsam, together with two splendid candelabra of brass or bronze, exquisite in form and of large dimensions, they brought a remarkably fine tent and a water-clock which were extolled above the rest. The tent was a prodigy in size and beauty, and the door curtains together with the ropes and cords were of byssus dyed in variegated colors. The Saxon poet fables of its wonderful dimensions and contrivances; it was so lofty that no arm was strong enough to shoot an arrow beyond its roof, and so spacious, and contained so many splendid apartments, that it seemed to be a palace.⁴ The brass or bronze water-clock was a most artistic work. A mechanism, set in motion by water, marked the course of twelve hours; at every full hour as many bronze balls as the dial indicated fell upon a bell placed underneath and made it strike the time; there were also twelve windows which opened as each hour passed away, and lastly at the end of the twelve hours, twelve cavaliers issued forth

¹ Vita Hludov. c. 15, and see the record of Arab writers in Funck, *l. c.*, p. 290.

² See page 430.

³ Annal. Einh. a. 807.

⁴ Poeta Saxo l. IV., v. 85 sqq., 208 sqq.

from the twelve windows in so spirited a way that the windows could not resist the shock and shut in consequence.

The clock had yet many other surprising contrivances too numerous to be mentioned, as the annalist observes, and we therefore drop the subject.¹

It is doubtless with reference to this embassy that we read that "when the ambassadors sent by Charles to visit the most holy sepulchre and place of resurrection of our Lord and Saviour, presented themselves before him [Harun] with gifts, and made known their master's wishes, he not only granted what they asked, but gave possession of that holy and blessed spot. When they returned, he despatched his ambassadors with them and sent magnificent gifts, etc."²

The evangelical accuracy of this statement may fairly be questioned, but there is no reason to doubt the fact that the khalif ratified the nominal suzerainty of Charles over the Holy Places, whose symbols the patriarch of Jerusalem had sent him on the eve of his coronation (800).³ In the hands of the Monk of St. Gall the khalif goes so far as to propose to the ambassadors of Charles a cession of the entire Holy Land, content to administer the same in the capacity of a deputy (*advocatus*)!⁴

The embassy of Harun was purely one of amity, but of the object of the mission of Brothers George and Felix the record is silent. We may connect it, however, with the generosity of Charles who upon the discovery of "Christians living in poverty in Syria, Egypt, and Africa, at Jerusalem, Alexandria, and Carthage, had compassion on their wants, and used to send money over the seas to them. The reason that he so zealously strove to make friends with the kings beyond seas was that he might get help and relief to the Christians living under their rule."⁵

808] During the emperor's stay at Nimeguen he accorded hospitable protection to Eardulf, the fugitive king of Northumbria. His subjects, as appears from the epistles of Alcuin,⁶

¹ Annal. Einh.

² Vita Caroli, c. 16.

³ See page 216 sq.

⁴ Monach. Sangall. II., 9.

⁵ Vita Caroli, c. 27.

⁶ Alcuini Epp., *l. c.*, 65, 79, 173, 229.

had just grounds of complaint against him, but he always maintained friendly relations with Charles¹ and naturally turned to him in his distress; he also had the ear and interest of Leo to whom he was wont to send embassies. The latter, moreover, espoused his cause and sent the Anglo-Saxon deacon Aldulf as his legate into Great Britain, for the purpose of composing the difficulty. In the meantime Ear-dulf, upon consultation with Charles, proceeded to Rome,² where he spent some time, and, thanks to the joint good offices of the emperor and the pope, was enabled to return to his kingdom. His restoration appears to have taken place under imposing circumstances, for we read that the aforesaid Aldulf, representing the pope, and the notary Hrotfrid together with Nautharius, Abbot of St. Omer, representing Charles, accompanied him on the occasion.³

The ambassadors, upon the successful execution of their mission, set sail for their distant homes. Those of Charles 809] escaped the dangers of the sea, but the papal legate was less fortunate; he fell into the hands of pirates who carried him back to Britain, and held him until a vassal of Cœnulf, King of Mercia, paid his ransom. It appears that his deliverance, perhaps only his ultimate safe return to Rome, was due to the kind intervention or assistance of Charles.⁴

About this time (808) the inimical conduct of Gottfried,⁵ King of the Danes, called for energetic resistance and chastisement. He invaded the territory of the Abodrites, whom we left in possession of the land of the expatriated Northalbingians,⁶ and committed terrible outrages, in which the Wilzen or Welatabians, the Smeldings, and Linonians appear as his allies. It is stated that he took and destroyed a number of castles, and devastated the country; that he drove away Thrasco, the not over-popular ruler of the Abodrites, treach-

¹ Leonis III., epist. 2 (Jaffé).

² Annal. Einh. a. 808.

³ Annal. Einh., a. 808, 809; Maxim., 808.

⁴ Annal. Einh. e. a. Leon III., ep. 4.

⁵ The Danes call him *Göttrik*, and a saga of his acts and exploits has been published by Olaf Verelius.

⁶ See p. 140.

erously possessed himself of the person of Godelib, another duke of the same people, and hung him; and that he made two-thirds of the people tributary. His successes, however, were dear-bought, for the Abodrites offered stubborn resistance, and in the defence of an unnamed town fought so valiantly that by far the best of the Danish warriors lay dead on the field, and Reginold, the king's own nephew and heir-apparent in the throne, was among the slain. The announcement of the invasion provoked immediate action. It was feared that the intrepid Dane might attempt to cross the Elbe, and the emperor accordingly sent his son Charles at the head of a strong army to that river, with orders to resist the advance of the insensate (*væsans*) king. When Charles arrived at the Elbe he cast a bridge over that river, and learning that the enemy, doubtless too weak, after his severe losses, for further offensive operations, was in retreat, with great celerity entered the country of the Linonians and the Smeldings, and laid it waste. The campaign, however, was not successful; his losses in men were considerable, and he deemed it prudent to recross the Elbe. Gottfried, on the other hand, appears to have pursued his march to the coast, and, after the destruction of a mercantile sea-port called Reric, and the removal of the traders on board his vessels, set sail and disembarked his army at Sliethorp, the modern Sleswig. There, it is added, he provided for the protection of his frontier against encroachments from the direction of Saxony, by ordering the building of a wall, on the northern bank of the Eider, from the Baltic to the North Sea, furnished with only one gate for the ingress and egress of wagons and horses. Leaving the execution of this prodigious work in the hands of his army, he went home.¹

Nor was the emperor remiss in the protection of his frontier. He ordered his *missi* to direct the building of two castles on the Elbe, in which he placed Frankish garrisons as a precautionary measure against the Slavonians.² The

¹ Annal. Einh. a. 808.

² Annal. Einh.; Maxim.; S. Amandi; Chronic. Moiss. a. 808. One of

these castles was probably Hohbuoki.

See Simson, *l. c.*, II., p. 390, note 8.

Danish king, however, apprehending further trouble, and ostensibly with a view to peace, sent several merchants with a message to this effect: he had heard that the emperor was angry with him for having made war, the year before, with the Abodrites, and avenged his injuries; this he could easily explain since it was they and not himself who in the first instance had broken the peace; so, with a view to a satisfactory discussion and solution of the pending difficulties, he recommended the appointment of an international commission. The emperor did not disfavor the Danish proposals and consented to the appointment of his commissioners, who met the Danish deputies at a place beyond the Elbe, called Badenflot. The conference took place, the commissioners discussed the criminations which were made on both sides, and separated without any practical results.

Meanwhile the excitement among the Slavonian tribes was at flood-tide. Thrasco, it seems, who in compliance with the demand of Gottfried, had given him his son as hostage, felt at liberty to return to his country, and straightway undertook to avenge his wrongs. He collected an army, composed of his own people and Saxon auxiliaries, and in punishment of their alliance with Gottfried, invaded the country of the Welatabians, laid it waste with fire and sword, and, laden with booty, returned home. Flushed with his success, he accepted still more Saxon (*i. e.* Frankish) auxiliaries and fell upon the Smeldings. He took their capital city, and forced them, as well as others, who had revolted from his rule, to return to their allegiance. We understand that he did this as the ally and vassal of Charles, under his directions, and with the troops which he sent him.¹

The effect of these events on the mind of Gottfried may be divined. Thrasco had absolutely destroyed his work and made his former success of none effect; and on Thrasco he meant to be avenged. He succeeded in enticing him by specious representations to Reric, and there caused him to be assassinated by one of his vassals.²

¹ Annal. Einh., Maxim.; Regino; ² Chron. Moiss. Annal. Einh. Chron. Moiss.

Gottfried was a reckless and most dangerous enemy, so "puffed up with vain aspirations that he counted on gaining empire over all Germany, and looked upon Saxony and Frisia as his provinces. He had already subdued his neighbors the Abodrites, and made them tributary, and boasted that he would soon appear with a great army before Aix-la-Chapelle, where the king held his court. Some faith was put in his words,"¹ and Charles, in anticipation of further hostilities, ordered the immediate erection of a strong fortress at Esesfeld on the Stoer, the modern Itzehoe.²

[810] But the Dane stole a march upon him and struck a blow where he was least expected. The emperor was still at Aix-la-Chapelle, when suddenly tidings came of a most alarming character. A Danish fleet of two hundred sail, after devastating the islands off the coast, had landed in Frisia, defeated the Frisians in three successive engagements, made them tributary, and already exacted a first contribution of three hundred pounds of silver. The report continued that the descent had been made by Gottfried's lieutenants, but that he himself had stayed at home.

Inquiry proved that the announcement was strictly true; it was by far the boldest attack on the Frankish dominions ever made by northern foe. It fairly stunned Charles, and roused not only his anger, but all the latent energy of his nature. He summoned the *heerbann*, ordered the completion of the ships building in different parts of the empire, the collection of a fleet, and the coast-guard to every point where the enemy might be able to land.³

He immediately left the palace, it being his first purpose to attack the hostile fleet; but as this was not practicable, he changed his mind, and deeming it best that operations should begin from a point near the reported descent, proceeded with the younger Charles to Lippeham, the designated rendezvous of the troops, led them by forced marches to Verden on the Aller, and went into camp.

¹ Vita Caroli, c. 14.

³ Ann. Einh. a. 811.—See p. 426.

² Annal. Einh., Maxim., a. 809. and Vita Caroli, c. 17. Chron. Moiss. a. 810.

There he awaited further developments, for the movements and designs of the enemy were shrouded in mystery. Would Gottfried fulfil his boast and meet him in open field? Whence would he come? From beyond the Elbe, or from Frisia?

Prepared for every possible emergency, and pending the uncertainty, he held a placitum, received a deputation of his staunch allies, the Abodrites, and in response to their solicitation, designated Sclaomir successor to their murdered king.¹

The long continued dearth of intelligence and suspense at last gave way to a series of startling announcements. "The Danes had re-embarked and sailed home," was the burden of the messages which came from Frisia; "Gottfried has been assassinated by one of his own body-guard," shouted couriers from the Elbe as they entered the camp. This ended the war in a most wonderful and unexpected way.²

The fate of Gottfried was a Nemesis, which Charles and his warriors heard with a sense of relief, but on the heels of its announcement came another of an opposite character. The Welatabians had surprised the castle of Hohbuoki on the Elbe, with a garrison of Eastphalian troops, commanded by an imperial *missus*, and destroyed it; the loss was vexatious, but easy to repair.³

It was the precursor of one much sorer, and irreparable, in the untimely death of Pepin, King of Italy. The circumstances under which it occurred are not known, for the vague statement of a later writer, that it was preceded by a painful illness, sheds no light on the subject.⁴ It was

¹ Annal. Einh., a. 817; Aquens. 809; Mühlbacher, *l. c.*, pp. 181, 251.

² Annal. Einh.; Maxim.; Chron. Moiss.; Vita Caroli, c. 14. The Monk of St. Gall says, that Gottfried was slain by his own son in revenge for the repudiation of his mother, adding that while Charles glorified God for this singular judgment, he greatly deplored the calamity of his own ab-

sence, and the consequent escape of the Danes, exclaiming: "Woe is me, that I was not worthy to see how my Christian soldiers would have handled those dogheads!"

Monach. Sangall. II., 13; Ekkehard, *Chron. Univ.* MG. SS. VI., 162, 170.

³ Annal. Einh.

⁴ Poeta Sax. IV., 241.

utterly unexpected; the last tidings of Pepin were those of the Venetian campaign,¹ which must have swelled his father's heart with grateful joy, and fond expectation; and now, in immediate succession, came this crushing blow.

Twice before that year, not yet eight months old, the angel of death had visited his house; first he summoned away Gisla, his beloved and only surviving sister, the saintly abbess of Chelles, who was as dear to him as his mother;² then he took his eldest daughter, princess Rotrud, once affianced to the emperor Constantine, Alcuin's *Columba*, the mother of Louis, subsequently abbot of St. Denis, and of late years the frequent companion of her aunt; and now he removed, in distant Italy, his well-beloved Pepin.³ It was a great sorrow, and he wept for him—for he was wont to weep in bereavement⁴—in his camp at Verden on the Aller, the same place where in years gone by he gazed, with unmoved eye, on the gory punishment of the perfidious Saxons.

Pepin died in the thirty-third year of his life, and was reputed to be a kind and tender-hearted man, of winsome presence, and considerable culture. He excelled most in arms, as the Beneventans, Avars, and Venetians knew to their cost, and Angilbert told in verse.⁵

He was buried at Milan, and a mural tablet of recent recovery, in the left nave of St. Ambrose, bears a Latin inscription of this tenor:

"Here rests in peace Pepin who reigned in this province twenty-eight years and three months. He was buried on the fifth of the Ides of July in the third year of the Indiction. A son of the great lord Charles."⁶

¹ See p. 432 sq.

² Vita Caroli, c. 18.

³ Erm. Nigell. Eleg. II., 175.

⁴ Vita Caroli, c. 19.

⁵ Carm. *l. c.* VI., 200 sqq.

⁶ The Latin inscription is as follows:

+ Hic Pipinus rex quiescit in pace qui in hac regnavit provincia ann.

XXVIII. m. III. Depositus V. Idus

Iul. indictione III. fil. d. m. Caroli.

The death and burial of Pepin, in Milan, are attested: 1. The death, by Sigebert, *l. c.* a. 809; Dand., Muratori, *Rer. It.* SS., XII., 158 E.; 2. The burial, Annal. Lauriss. minor.

The emperor at once sent for his children, one son and five daughters,¹ placed Bernhard, for some time, in the monastery at Fulda,² for the purpose of profiting by the instructions of the famous Rhabanus, its abbot, and provided for the orphaned daughters at the Court, where they found a loving home, and were educated under the direction and in the company of their aunts.

Besides these personal and domestic griefs, Charles was much cast down by a great national calamity, which bore, with unexampled severity, especially on the army in Westphalia. The epizooty, a pestilential murrain, broke out, and cut off all the cattle of the expedition to a head.

The prevalence of that fatal disease in every part of the Frankish empire filled the people with despair and led to terrible results. The ignorant, suspicious, and unreasoning populace sought to explain the epidemic, and from inability to find a solution, believed a wide-spread rumor that Grimoald, Duke of Benevento, had sent out emissaries who poisoned all the wells, meadows, and even the grazing lands of mountainous regions by scattering broad-cast "mortal powder," as it was called. In vain did more enlightened persons protest, denounce the wickedness and absurdity of so dangerous a rumor, explaining that the Grimoald, who for so many years had been at enmity with the Franks was dead, and that the new Grimoald, who had risen in his place, was an urbane and peaceful man, and inclined to be the friend of Charles. They preached to deaf ears, for the

cod. Rem.; Chronic Vedast. MG. SS. XIII., 707.

The tradition, naming St. Zeno in Verona as the place of his burial, is untenable. See Malfatti, *Bernardo re d'Italia*, p. 53 sq.

The authenticity of the mural tablet in St. Ambrose's is not undisputed. Another, and very elegant epitaph, printed by Dümmler in Poet. Latin. æv. Carol. I., 405, bears intrinsic evidence of having been intended to be placed over the tomb, and presumably

was set up. The first two lines expressly and emphatically affirm as much:

Hoc iacet in tumulo Pippinus, rez venerandus,
Hesperiam rexit, *hoc iacet in tumulo*.

¹ Their names were: Adelaide, Atula, Gundrada, Berthaid, Theodrada.—The name of their mother is not known; an allusion to her occurs in Alc. ep. 77.

² Simson, *l. c.*, II., 485.

insensate people would arrest strangers or suspicious characters, accuse them of scattering poison, and lay violent hands on them.

Some, according to an eye-witness, they killed on the spot, but most of the victims were tied to boards and drowned. By far the most wonderful feature of the murderous excitement was the strange circumstance that some of the persons seized actually confessed that they had scattered "mortal powder."

The writer does not state that their confession was voluntary, but torture is probably its explanation.

The frenzy was so dangerous that special legislation became necessary, and the clergy were instructed to admonish the people to give alms and humble themselves in prayer for the removal of the many plagues with which for their sins they were grievously afflicted.¹

A sample of the manner in which the metropolitans complied with the imperial mandate has been preserved. The circular enjoins a three days' fast with humiliation and prayer to be universally observed, throughout the archiepiscopal see by all persons, except such as by reason of old age, or infancy, were unable to keep it; directs the fast to extend to abstinence from meat and wine, from beer, *milshida* (a concoction of beans and honey) and mead; and that all persons unable to fast were fined a *solidus* a day if they were rich; if in middling circumstances, in six *denarii* a day, and if poor, in as much as they were able to give. Perhaps these amounts were required of all persons as part of the fast.

The clerics and nuns able to recite the Psalter were required to repeat the entire book in three daily portions of fifty Psalms. The remainder of the circular is wanting.²

On this, the last expedition conducted by Charles in person, occurred the accident included among the prodigies prophetic of his death.³ If it happened at that time, it

¹ Agobard, *De grand. et tonitruis*, c. 16; Capit. Missor. Aquisgr. I, a. 810; idem, 2, 810; apud Boretius, *l. c.*, p. 153.

² Rhicolfi archiepisc. ad Eginonem epistola a. 810, apud Boretius, *l. c.*, p. 249.

³ Vita Caroli, c. 32. See p. 490.

impressed him doubtless as a similar event would impress strong-minded and enlightened men of common sense now, who would view it as a merciful deliverance, or, should their convictions tend that way, as a special providence. The intimation of impending death would probably be as remote from their minds as it was from the thought of Charles.

But that camp at Verden marks a change in his life; the hand of God had touched him inly, and he left the Aller, a chastened and a better man.¹

Another subject of great moment to theologians of the ninth century, and still of considerable interest, remains to be considered.

The dogma of the Procession of the Holy Ghost, often remanded to the realm of the unknown or unknowable, is one of the questions which led to the great schism eventuating in the separation of the Greek and Latin Churches. It is an indisputable fact that the Council of Constantinople **A. D. 381**] inserted in the Creed of the Council of Nice **A. D. 325**] the words "proceeding from the Father," and **A. D. 431**] that the Council of Ephesus decreed that thenceforth no additions should be made to that Creed. The Greek Church accordingly taught that the Holy Ghost proceeded from the Father. Thus the dogma stood in the *Creed*, although there is good ground for the opinion that both early Greek and Latin theologians held the view that the Holy Ghost proceeded from the Father and the Son. **A. D. 589**] In the Latin Church, the Council of Toledo inserted the words *filioque*, *i. e.*, "and from the Son," in the aforesaid Creed, and thus it passed into the Frankish Church. The question was examined in a Synod held at **A. D. 767**] Gentilly in the reign of King Pepin, at which Byzantine and papal representatives were present, but it remained open. At the instance of Charles it was taken

¹ For the whole section, besides the special references see on the Danish expedition: 809, *Annal. Mett.*; *Einh.*; *Maxim.*; *Chron. Moiss.*—810. *Annal. Einh.*, *Maxim.*, *S. Amandi*; *Chron. Moiss.*; *Annal. Aquens.*—*Vita Caroli*, cc. 17, 14.—On Pepin: *Annal. Einh.*

up, and Alcuin wrote a treatise upon it which took strong ground in favor of the double procession.¹

A monk of St. Sabas at Jerusalem, the presbyter John, raised the question in a vehement attack of the Frankish congregation on the Mount of Olives, and declared them and all the Franks, because of the obnoxious interpolation, heretics. The excitement was intense, and the controversy grew so hot that it became necessary to refer the dispute for decision in the first instance to Pope Leo III., and through him to the emperor. Charles introduced the matter in the Synod of Aix-la-Chapelle, but although that Council showed a strong leaning in favor of the view ably presented by the bishop of Orleans (Theodulf), and Smaragdus, abbot of St. Mihiel on the Meuse, that the dogma of the Double Procession rested upon the express testimony of passages from the Old and New Testaments and the Fathers, did not reach a decision.² But the emperor, unwilling to leave the matter unsettled, appointed Bernharius bishop of Worms, and his cousin Adalhard, abbot of Corbie, ambassadors to Leo with a view to bring it to a formal decision. They read to Leo all the proof passages in favor of the *filioque*, and then discussed them with him in a very friendly spirit, urging that if the dogma of the Double Procession set forth an important truth, every means of making it known should be adopted, submitting that the chanting of the Creed with the *filioque* in public [*i. e.*, especially in the imperial Chapel Service], would greatly conduce to so desirable an end. The pope, while adopting the dogma that the Holy Ghost 'proceeded from the Father and the Son,' opposed the introduction of the word *filioque* as an unauthorized interpolation, on the ground of veneration of the fathers who framed the Creed, and of tender regard for the Greeks to whom it was obnoxious. He declared it as his opinion that the word should be dropped, and that the

¹ Libellus de processione spiritus sancti, *Opp. ed. Froben. I.*, 3; Alcuini ep. 242. points to another authorship, but whose I do not pretend to affirm.

² The Hymn *Veni Creator Spiritus*

chanting of the Creed, because it was not chanted in his own church, should be gradually omitted.

In order, moreover, to give a public intimation of his views he caused to be set up in the churches of St. Peter and St. Paul, at Rome, the Nicene-Constantinopolitan Creed in the precise form (*i. e.*, without the *filioque*) in which it had been set forth. It was engraved on two very massive silver shields, on the one in Greek and on the other in Latin, which appeared on either side of the entrance to the tomb of St. Peter, and again on another such shield at the entrance to that of St. Paul. Underneath he added these words: "I, Leo, have set this up in token of my love and protection (*cautela*) of the orthodox faith."¹

In spite of his opinion, however, the use of Aix-la-Chapelle remained in force; and in due course the famous word gradually found its way into the form of the Creed throughout the Latin Churches.

¹ Epist. Carol. 22, 23 (Jaffé); Migne t. CV., p. 239; t. 98, 923.—Epist. Mogunt. 1 (Jaffé, III., 317). Annal. Einh. a. 810; Maxim.; cf. Adonis Chron. MG. SS. II., 320.—Mansi XIV., 18. See also Le Cointe, *An-*

nal. Eccles. Franc. t. IV., ad. a. 809. Longueval, *Histoire de l'Eglise Gallicane*, t. V., p. 151.—Vita Leonis III., ap. Muratori, *Rer. It. SS.* III., 1, p. 208.

CHAPTER V.

LAST YEARS OF CHARLES.

Provisional government of Italy by *missi*.—Peace with Nicephorus.—Charles divides his treasure.—Text of the Testament.—Case of Obelierius.—Events in the Eastern empire.—Michael I. emperor.—Ratification of peace.—Leo V. emperor.—Peace with Denmark.—Affairs in that country.—Norman and Saracen pirates.—Peace and war in Spain.—Futile investment of Huesca.—Military expeditions against the Vasconians; the Bretons, Linnonians, etc.; and, for the establishment of order, to Pannonia; later, against the Wela-tabians.—Final submission of Benevento.—Adalhard.

THE death of Pepin imposed the necessity of immediate provision for the administration of his kingdom. His rule, like that of Louis, was strictly dependent on that of Charles,¹ and purely nominal.

Even in the matter of the coinage, the supremacy of Charles was strictly maintained, and coins struck in Italy, Aquitaine, and the Spanish Marche, still extant, bear his name.²

Accordingly at his death the instructions, before given to him, were transferred to imperial *missi*, among whom the abbot of Corbie was the most illustrious.³ The arrangement, however, was only provisional.

Soon after his demise, the *spatharius* Arsafius, an ambassador from the Greek emperor, the bearer of letters, and messages for Pepin, arrived in Italy.

Charles, upon his own testimony, heard the announce-

¹ See Art. 20 of the Instrument of Division, p. 424.

² Soetbeer, *Forschungen*, IV., 299, 303, 307, 341, sq.

³ Tiraboschi, *Storia della badia di Nonantola*, II., 36, no. 20;—Muratori, *Antiq. Ital.* II., 977; V., 953.

The last place names the patriarch Paulinus, archbishop Arno, abbot Fardulf, and the count palatine Echerigus as imperial *missi* in Italy, before this period; and the last but one distinctly states that Rotechild was the *baiulus* of Pepin.

ment of his arrival with pleasure, and unable to doubt the purport of his mission, concluded to treat it as directed to himself, and invited the *spatharius* to proceed to his court. The tenor of the imperial letter, and the oral communications of the ambassador, convinced him of the pacific intentions of the Byzantine government and paved the way for an amicable understanding. A preliminary treaty of peace, on the basis of the restoration to Greek supremacy of Venetia and the sea-ports in Liburnia and Dalmatia, and the recognition, by the Byzantine emperor, of Charles as Emperor of the West, was the result of the negotiations. Charles, upon the conclusion of this treaty, addressed a very cordial epistle to Nicephorus, in which he dwells with manifest gratification on the pacific disposition of his imperial "brother" (for whom he has also such endearing terms as "amiable fraternity," "loving dilection," "affection"), and concludes with the announcement of his purpose of speedily sending to him an embassy for the continuation, and, eventually, the confirmation and ratification of the peace.¹

He probably made Arsafius, in a farewell audience, bearer of the said epistle, and soon after, say early in 811, sent his own ambassadors, to wit, Heito, Bishop of Basel, Hugo, Count of Tours, and the Lombard Aio of Friuli to Constantinople.

It is added, that the embassy,—doubtless in consequence of a previous understanding reached by Charles and Arsafius—conducted Obelierius, the deposed doge of Venice, to "his master," *i. e.*, the Greek emperor, as well as the *spatharius* Leo of Sicily, a fugitive at the court of Charles, who now desired to return to Constantinople.² Before the departure of the said embassy,³ the emperor took action in a matter which is doubtless closely connected with his sad bereavements.

¹ Annal. Einh. Maxim. a. 810, 811, cf. 812.—Vita Carol. cc. 15, 16, 28.—Epistol. Carol. 29 (Jaffé), and see on the whole subject, Simson, *l. c.*, II., p. 444 sqq. and *ibid.*, Excursus V.

² Annal. Einh. Maxim. a. 811. Cf.

Monach. Sangall. II., 6, and on Obelierius, Johan. Chron. Ven. MG. SS., VII., 15.

³ This is established, for Heito, bishop of Basel, was one of the witnesses of his testament.

§11] There were monitions, which the stealthy approach of old age bade him heed. Five years before he had regulated the division of his empire, and the succession, but he had not yet made his will. Strictly speaking he never disposed by testamentary provision of his real estate. Einhard writes that "he had intended to make a will that he might apportion to his daughters and the children of his concubines shares in his inheritance, but it was begun too late, and could not be finished. Three years before his death, however, he made a division of his *treasure*, etc."¹

It is with this division that we are now concerned. Concerning this interesting document, happily preserved, it is known that on a certain day, not mentioned, he assembled his friends and ministers, and called them in as witnesses, that their voices might insure the ratification of his dispositions after his decease. He had a summary drawn up of his wishes regarding this distribution of his property, the terms and text of which are as follows:

"In² the name of Lord God Almighty, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost.

"This is the inventory and division made by the most glorious and most pious³ Lord Charles, Emperor Augustus, in the year of the Incarnation of our Lord Jesus Christ DCCCXI., of his reign in Francia XLIII., in Italy XXXVII., of his empire XI., and of the Indiction IV., which considerations of piety and prudence have moved him by divine favor to make of his treasures and money as found this day in his treasure-room:

"By this act he specially desires to provide not only that out of his wealth there be made for himself such largess of alms as Christians are wont to make of their possessions, but that his heirs shall be free from all doubt, know clearly what is their own, and be able to secure their share

¹ Vita Caroli, c. 33.

² I have used the text of Teulet, but compared it with the texts of Pertz, Schmincke and Jaffé.

³ The words *pious* and *piety* do not signify religious veneration as to God, but denote humane considerations as to man.

in the property by just partition without litigation or strife.

"With this purpose and to this end he has divided all his substance and movable goods, found this day in his treasure-room, consisting of gold, silver, precious stones, and royal ornaments, first into three lots, and then subdivided and set off two of these three lots into twenty-one parts, but reserved the third entire.

"The first two lots have been thus subdivided into twenty-one parts because there are in his empire twenty-one¹ metropolitan cities, and it is ordered that each archiepiscopal see shall receive as alms at the hands of his heirs and friends, one of the said parts, and that the archbishop, then administering the affairs of the same, shall take the said part and in such wise share the same with his suffragans that one third thereof be given to his Church and the two-thirds remaining be divided among the suffragans. The twenty-one parts into which the first two lots are to be divided conformably to the number of the metropolitan cities, have been separated, and each of them has been placed by itself in a box inscribed with the name of the city for which it is destined. The names of the cities to which this alms or largess is to be given are these: Rome, Ravenna, Milan, Friuli, Grado, Cologne, Mayence, Juvarum (Salzburg), Treves, Sens, Besançon, Lyons, Rouen, Rheims, Arles, Vienne, Moutiers-en-Tarantaise, Embrun, Bordeaux, Tours, and Bourges.

¹ There were *twenty-four* metropolitan cities in his empire. Eause (*Elusa*); Aix in Provence; and Narbonne, are omitted. Eause, the metropolis of Novempopulania, having been destroyed by the Vandals the metropolitan seat of the province was temporarily reunited to that of Bordeaux, and not restored to the Church of Auch until about 845.

The Church of Aix, metropolis of the second Narbonnensis, appears to have lost its metropolitan title about 596, and not recovered it until 828;

throughout that period it was regarded as a suffragan see of the metropolis of Arles. The omission of these two names from the list is easily accounted for, but that of so famous a metropolis as Narbonne is difficult to explain. See Le Cointe, *Ann. Eccl. Franc.*, ad. a. 811, no. VIII., and Baluzius, *Capitul. Reg. Franc.*, II., 1071.—Teulet.

Compare also Leibniz, *Ann. Imp.* I., 275; Synod. Francof. 794, 8. Jaffé, *Reg. Pont. Rom.* no. CCCXIV., Mühlbacher, *l. c.*, p. 126.

"The third lot, which he wills shall be kept entire, shall be appropriated as here set forth: while the first two lots shall be divided into the parts aforesaid, and under seal set aside, the third lot shall be applied to the owner's daily wants, as property exempt from alienation because of the obligations of any vow, even so long as he shall survive, or deem it necessary for his use. But upon his death, or voluntary renunciation of the affairs of this world,¹ this lot shall be divided into four parts, one of which shall be added to the aforesaid twenty-one parts; it being his will that the second part shall be given to his sons and daughters, and to the sons and daughters of his sons, and distributed among them in just and equal partition; that the third part, agreeably to the custom observed by Christians, be appropriated to the poor; and that the fourth part, in like manner, and as alms, be applied to the men-servants and maid-servants holding office in the palace.

"To this third lot of the whole estate which, like the two first lots, consists of gold and silver, the testator directs, shall be added all vessels and utensils of bronze, iron, and other metals, together with arms, vestments, and other movable goods, costly or cheap, adapted to divers uses, such as hangings, coverlets, carpets, felt-cloth,² leather ware, saddles, and whatsoever may be found in his treasure-room and wardrobe on that day, to the end that the parts of the said lot may be thus augmented, and the distribution of the alms benefit a greater number of persons.

"As to his Chapel, that is to say, all the objects pertaining to the service thereof, both those by himself provided and collected, and those which came to him by inheritance from his father, shall according to his will remain entire, and not be dissevered by any partition whatsoever. If, however, there be found in the same any books, vessels, or other articles, of which it is positively ascertained that they were not given by him to the aforesaid Chapel, which any one

¹ This seems to intimate that such an idea had passed through his mind. See Ducange, s. v., *feltrum*.

² *Filtrum*, then much used for the

housings of horses and tent covers.

desires to have, he may secure them on payment of their value at a just estimation.

"He likewise directs that the books which he has collected in great numbers in his library, may be sold for just prices to those who may desire to have them, and that the money received for them be given to the poor.

"It is well known that among his other property and treasures there are three silver tables and one very large and massive one of gold. He directs and commands that the square silver table, upon which appears a representation of the city of Constantinople, together with the other gifts set apart for the same, shall be sent to the Basilica of St. Peter the Apostle at Rome; that the second table, of circular shape, and ornamented with a delineation of the city of Rome, shall be given to the Bishop's Church at Ravenna; that the third, which in beauty of workmanship and weight surpasses the other two, and is made in three circles displaying the plan of the whole universe skilfully and delicately drawn,¹ together with the golden table already named before as the fourth, shall be applied to the augmentation of that lot ordered to be appropriated to his heirs and to alms.

"This act, and the dispositions thereof he has made and constituted in the presence of the bishops, abbots, and counts able to be present, whose names are hereunto subscribed:

Bishops: "Hildebaldus,^a Ricolfus,^b Arno,^c Wolfarius,^d Bernoin,^e Laidradus,^f Johannes,^g Theodulfus,^h Jesse,ⁱ Heito,^j Waltgaudus.^k

Abbots: "Fredugisus,^l Adalung,^m Angilbertus,ⁿ Irmino.^o

Counts: "Wala,^p Meginherus,^q Otulfus,^r Stephanus,^s Unruochus,^t Burchardus,^u Meginhardus,^v Hatto,

¹ This is the only object of his father's treasure which Louis took as a memorial of him. It was formed of three circles like three bucklers united, and remained at Aix-la-Chapelle until 842, when Lotharius removed, and divided it among his partisans.

The table, a marvel for size and beauty, displayed in relief, and in separate places, the terrestrial globe, the constellations, and the movement of the planets.

Thegan. c. 8.—Annal. Bertin.—Bouquet, V., 61.

Richowinus,^w Edo, Ercangarius, Geroldus,^x Bera,^y Hildigern, Rocculfus.^z "1

It will be remembered that the embassy of Charles conveyed Obelierius, the ex-doge of Venice, to Constantinople.

His case was peculiar; alike faithless to both emperors, his fall was inevitable. Arsafius demanded his extradition, and upon the conclusion of the preliminary peace, went to Venice for the regulation of its affairs. The Frankish annals state that Obelierius was degraded because of his perfidy, and sent to his master at Constantinople, while Venetian authorities explain that the deposition of all the doges was effected by joint action of Arsafius and the Venetians, adding that Obelierius was sent to Constantinople, and Beatus

* Notices concerning the signers of the will.

- a. Archbishop of Cologne.
- b. " " Mayence.
- c. " " Salzburg.
- d. " " Rheims.
- e. " " Besançon.
- f. " " Lyons.
- g. " " Arles.
- h. Bishop " Orleans.
- i. " " Amiens.
- j. " " Basle.
- k. " " Liège.
- l. Abbot " St. Martin's, Tours, and Cormery.
- m. " " Lorsch.
- n. " " St. Riquier.
- o. " " St. Germain-des-Près.
- p. Son of Bernhard, brother of Pepin, King of the Franks; first cousin of Charles, and brother of Adalhard.
- q. Probably Count of Sens.—Simson.
- r. Probably identical with the seneschal, Audulfus.
- s. Count of Paris (?). See page 382.
- t. Imperial missus; grandfather of Berengar I.
- u. The constable mentioned p. 427.
- v. One of the plenipotentiaries at the peace with Denmark, a. 811.
- w. Patavinus, ambassador of Louis to Leo V., a. 814 (?).
- x. Count of the East Marche.—Cf. Dümmler, *Südöstliche Marken*, p. 19, no. 4.—Mühlbacher, *l. c.*, p. 186, no. 452.
- y. Commandant at Barcelona, a. 801.
- z. Cf. Epist. Carol. 41 (Jaffé), Boretius, *l. c.*, I., 1 (?).

to Zara, but that their brother Valentine, on account of his youth, was suffered to remain.

At the same time the Rialto was chosen as the seat of the doge; Agnello Partecipazio, a brave and catholic man, raised to the dogeate; and two tribunes, holding office for one year, were appointed as his assistants in the administration of justice.¹

When the ambassadors of Charles reached their destination, they learned that Nicephorus was dead, and had been succeeded by Michael, his son-in-law.

811] Nicephorus, "unskilful and unfortunate in war," perished at the hands of Krumm, the fierce Bulgarian khan, who in a nocturnal surprise of the imperial camp, massacred the emperor and many Byzantine nobles, severely wounded Stauracius, the emperor's son, set up the head of Nicephorus on a pole, made the people, as he went, tributary, marched on Develtus, took that city and other places, and carried off their inhabitants to his own thinly-settled territory on the Danube.²

Stauracius, having escaped from the massacre, succeeded his father; "yet six months of an expiring life were sufficient to refute his indecent, though popular declaration, that he would in all things avoid the example of his father. On the near prospect of his decease, Michael, the great master of the palace, and the husband of his sister Procopia, was named by every person of the palace and city, except by his envious brother. Tenacious of a sceptre, now falling from his hand, he conspired against the life of his successor, and cherished the idea of changing to a democracy the Roman empire. But these rash projects served only to inflame the zeal of the people, and to remove the scruples of the candidate: Michael the First accepted the purple, and before he sunk into the grave, the son of Nicephorus implored the clemency of his new sovereign."³

¹ Ann. Einh. a. 811; Joh. Chron. Chronogr. ed. Bonn., p. 764. Harnak, Ven. VII., 15, 16; Andr. Dand. *l. c.* *l. c.*, 54, no. 2.

XII., 159, 160, 161, 165, 173. ³ Gibbon, *Decline and Fall*, c.

² Annal. Einh. a. 812, 813. Theoph. xlviii.

Michael I. ascended the throne, October 2, 811. He received the ambassadors of Charles, and on their departure gave them his own as their companions. They were: Michael, Metropolitan of Philadelphia, and the *protospatharii* Arsafius and Theognostus. Empowered to ratify the preliminary peace and extend it to Theophylactus, the emperor's son whom he was about to associate with himself in the throne,¹ the ambassadors bore likewise honorable, imperial gifts, and upon their arrival at Aix-la-Chapelle proceeded to the basilica, where the act of ratification was celebrated with religious solemnity.

812] They received at the hands of Charles the treaty of peace, duly subscribed by himself, and the most distinguished ecclesiastical and secular dignitaries. Then, agreeably to Byzantine usage, the ambassadors rehearsed in Greek a laudatory litany, for the first time addressing Charles as *basileus*, or emperor. This was the recognition of his imperial dignity, for until then the Greeks had only called him by the lesser appellation of *rex*, or king.

Returning by the way of Rome the pope, after attaching his signature to the treaty, finally delivered it to them in the basilica of St. Peter.

Nicephorus, Patriarch of Constantinople, moreover, in token of the restoration of fraternal intercourse, had addressed to the pope a synodal communication, and commissioned the ecclesiastic member of the embassy to present it, with his gifts.²

The solemn delivery of the treaty in St. Peter's completed only the occidental part of the ratification, the oriental part remaining to be performed at Constantinople.³

This appears from the extant text of an epistle of Charles to the Emperor Michael, sent by the Greek ambassadors, dwelling with great satisfaction on the restoration of peace, and the reunion of the Catholic Church, and notifying the

¹ Annal. Einh., 812. Theoph., *l. c.*, cc. 16, 23; Ep. Carol. 40; Mansi, p. 770. XIV., 29, sqq.; 53, 56.—Döllinger, *l. c.*, p. 358; Harnak, *l. c.*, p. 53.

² Annal. Einh., 812. Theoph., *l. c.*, *l. c.*, p. 358; Harnak, *l. c.*, p. 53. Poeta Saxo, V., 311 sq.; Vita Caroli, ³ Harnak, *l. c.*, p. 55.

Eastern monarch that as he, Charles, had done everything towards the consummation of so joyous a result, so he had arranged with the ambassadors that the same should be done by his beloved and honorable brother, to whom he proposed to send, at the proper time for navigation, Amalarius, Bishop of Treves, and Peter, Abbot of Nonantola, as his ambassadors, for the purpose of receiving of him a copy of the same treaty, drawn up in Greek, duly subscribed by himself, his bishops, patricians, and other notables, desiring him to take the same with his own hands from the altar and deliver it to the aforesaid ambassadors.¹

They set out for Constantinople in the spring of 813, and by a strange coincidence,² upon their arrival found a new occupant of the imperial throne in the person of Leo V.

The Emperor Michael, unequal to the exigencies of his position, and like Nicephorus, "unskilful and unfortunate **June 22]** in war," after a stinging defeat by Krumm, in the battle of Bersinica, fled for his life, and lost his crown. It is uncertain if he abdicated voluntarily, or under compulsion, **813]** in favor of Leo, son of Bardas, an Armenian, who, after a tumultuous proclamation in the camp, received the imperial diadem at the hands of the patriarch Nicephorus.

The new emperor spared the life of Michael, caused him to be shaved, banished him to an island in the Propontis, and commanded his martial wife with her sons to withdraw to the seclusion of a convent.³

Leo gave audience to the Frankish ambassadors, drew up a new treaty of peace, placed it in the hands of his own ambassadors, together with a formal application to the Emperor of the West for assistance against the Bulgarians, and sent them in company of the Franks to Aix-la-Chapelle.

Having thus briefly outlined the course of diplomatic intercourse with the Byzantines, we take up that with Denmark.

Hemming, a nephew of Gottfried,⁴ succeeded him in the

¹ Epist. Carol. 40 (Jaffé).

² See p. 458.

³ Annal. Einh., Joh. Chron. Ven.,

Andr. Dandol. — Leon. epp. 7, 8 (Jaffé); Jacobs, *Das Jahr* 813.

⁴ See p. 443.

throne. Charles concluded with him a preliminary peace, of an informal character, since the contracting parties swore only on their arms, because the severity of a late winter, interrupting communication by land and by water, prevented the conclusion of a definite treaty.

But, as soon as the vernal sun opened the roads, an international commission of twelve Franks, and the same number of Danes, met for the promotion of peace on the Eider. The negotiations were entirely satisfactory, and the plenipotentiaries confirmed the peace by oath, agreeably to the rite and usage observed by both nations.¹

The reign of Hemming was of short duration, for he died early in the next year. Then two claimants of the throne presented themselves, to wit, Siegfried, another nephew of Gottfried, and Anulo, the nephew of a former king, called Heriold, or Harald. So fierce was the contention, and so unyielding the disposition of the rivals, that they had recourse to arms. They fought a pitched battle of most sanguinary character, with the result that nearly eleven thousand of the combatants lay dead on the field, the claimants among the slain. Victory remaining with the partisans of Anulo, they proclaimed Heriold and Reginfried, his brothers, kings, and compelled the vanquished party, in spite of their influence and number, to acquiesce in their choice.²

Their adherence, however, was not cordial; Gottfried had other sons, and these, together with a large number of nobles, preferring exile to submission, went to Sweden. Nor was their defection solitary, for the whole province of Westerfaldia refused to recognize the new government.³

Heriold and Reginfried inaugurated their reign with an embassy to Charles, suing for a continuance of the peace, and the liberation of their brother Hemming, a captive in his hands. The Franks, in a General Diet, ordered the appointment of sixteen Frankish and Saxon nobles, as

¹ Annal. Einh., Lauriss. maior. minor.; cf. Maxim.

² Annal. Einh., a. 812, cf. Chron. Moiss.

³ Annal. Einh., 813.

commissioners, to meet the same number of Danish commissioners at a point beyond the Elbe, on the "Norman" frontier, and ratify the peace. The arrangement was carried out, the peace confirmed by oath, and Hemming, the Danish prince, surrendered to his countrymen.¹

The event took place during the absence of the royal brothers on a military expedition against the refractory *Westerfaldans*, the occupants of a district in South Norway, quaintly described in contemporary phrase, as "situated in the remotest region of their dominions between north and west and looking towards the northern extremity of Britain."² Their efforts were crowned with success, and their rejoicing augmented by the Frankish peace and the return of their brother, whom they associated with themselves in the kingdom.³

Unfortunately they were not permitted to enjoy the blessings of peace for many days, for the sons of Gottfried had not been idle, having been able to collect a large army in Sweden, and invade Denmark. A large number of disaffected Danes flocked to their standard; the opposing hosts met in battle; the royal brothers were defeated, and compelled to fly from the wrath of the victors into the country of the *Abodrites*. There they found an asylum, hospitable welcome, and substantial tokens of the sympathy of Charles, together with his best wishes for the recovery of their kingdom.⁴

The successful Danish dynasty, however, revived the aggressive policy of Gottfried, inaugurating it with a piratical descent on the Frisian coast, in which they took rich booty, and dragged a number of the inhabitants, of both sexes, into captivity.⁵

Normans made a similar descent, the year before, on a more distant region. A piratical fleet appeared off the coast of the island of *Hibernia Scottorum*, that is, Ireland, and effected a landing. The plucky Scots engaged with

¹ Annal. Einh. a. 812, 813. Chron. Moiss.

² Annal. Einh.

³ Chron. Moiss.

⁴ Chron. Moiss., a. 813.

⁵ Annal. Einh. Chron. Moiss.

them in battle, defeated them with great loss in slain, and drove the survivors in ignominious flight to their ships. One of the authorities mentions "an innumerable multitude of slain Normans," but that is doubtless rhetorical flourish.¹

The Norman piracies, though vexatious, were less extensive and destructive than those of the Saracens in the Mediterranean.

But the matter was of infinite importance, and stimulated the energies of Charles in the direction of efficient maritime defences and the creation of a fleet.

811] Thus we find him on an inspecting tour to the shipyards at Ghent, on the Scheldt, and Boulogne-sur-Mer. In the latter place, the old *Gesoriacum*, and in Roman times the seaport for passage to Britain, stood an ancient lighthouse, erected in the reign of Caligula, which had fallen into decay. Charles repaired it, and "lit thereon a nocturnal light for directing the course of mariners."² During that visit to Boulogne he also set forth a Capitulary, providing, among other things, for liability to naval service.³

The Saracen piracies open the question, how far they were the act of the emirate of Cordova. The pirates were privateers, and their infamous trade so lucrative that the power of the emir appears to have been inadequate to its suppression, even in times of peace, or, more accurately, during the continuance of a prolonged truce, or armistice. Such truces were very loosely observed.

For instance, the "peace" of 810 arrested hostilities neither by land nor by water. A year after its conclusion, the king of Aquitaine undertook the siege and final reduction of Tortosa. At the head of a powerful army, and supported by such able generals as Heribert, Liutard, and Isambard, he moved upon the city, enclosed it, for forty terrible days, with an iron girdle, hurled missiles into it, shook its walls with battering-rams and other military engines until they tottered and fell, and the inhabitants,

¹ Annal. Einh. 812. Ademar, apud Duchesne, II., 86.

² Annal. Einh. a. 811. See Pauly, *R. E. des Class. Alterth.*, III., 852.

³ Capitul. Bononiense, a. 811.

unable to offer further resistance, were forced to capitulate. He took the keys of the city and carried them to Aix-la-Chapelle, content with the conquest of a stronghold, whose fall was a warning example to the Saracens, prophetic of the fate of other cities reluctant in making their submission to the Franks.¹

A year later the Saracens took their revenge by sea. **812]** Early in the spring, tidings of an impending naval expedition, composed of Spanish and African vessels, arrived at Aix-la-Chapelle, in consequence of which Charles forthwith warned the pope, and instructed his *missi* to make the necessary preparations.²

The Saracens made a simultaneous attack on Corsica and Sardinia, but not with equal results. That on Sardinia was an absolute failure, and most disastrous to the Saracens, for the greater part of their fleet was destroyed; but in Corsica they scored a success, and carried off much spoil.³

An epistle of Leo III. to Charles, dated August 26th, and assigned to this year, sheds light on the nature of these piratical enterprises.

He informs Charles of a contemplated Saracen descent on Sicily; thanks him for his timely warning, specifying that the pirates had attacked certain islands belonging to the Byzantines, and that the Emperor Michael I. had sent a patrician and several *spatharii* for their protection to Sicily; that the said patrician applied to Anthimus, Duke of Naples, for help, and that, while the said Anthimus ignored his request, the cities of Gaëta and Amalfi had sent him a few small vessels; that the Moors thereupon fell upon the island of Lampedusa, and plundered it; that the Moors captured seven Byzantine vessels and put the crews to the sword; that then the entire Byzantine fleet assailed, and, through the compassion of Christ, annihilated the iniquitous Moors so that not one of them escaped alive; that nevertheless forty Moorish vessels plundered the island of

¹ Vita Hlud.; c. 16; cf. Vita Caroli, c. 15; Poeta Saxo, V., 185.

² Annal. Einh.; Epist. Leon. III., 6 (Jaffé).

³ Annal. Einh.

Ponza, on which monks were established;¹ after that they attacked Ischia, and for the space of three days plundered the island, and then, unmolested by the Neapolitans, loaded their vessels with captives and provisions, and sailed away; that Gaëtans, who, after their departure, visited the island, saw there the dead bodies of men, the carcasses of horses, and provisions which the Moors had left behind; and that, in contrast with the sad fate of those under Byzantine rule, it was his grateful duty to report that, thanks to the emperor's provident warning, his own territory had wholly escaped the visitation.²

813] A year later the Saracens revisited Corsica and carried off large booty and numerous captives; on the return voyage they fell into an ambush which Irmingar of Ampurias, one of the Frankish counts in the Spanish Marche, had set for them on the island of Mallorca (*Majorica*); the count captured eight of their vessels, and restored to liberty above five hundred Corsicans who languished in their holds. With a view to avenging the calamity, the pirates fell upon Civita Vecchia (*Centumcellæ*) and Nice and devastated the country; of the former, it is said, they obtained possession by treachery and sacked it. They likewise attacked Sardinia, but were repulsed with great loss.³

Again we derive additional information from an epistle of Leo to Charles under date of the third of the Ides of November (*i. e.*, Nov. 11th), 813, in which he writes, "that in the month of June of that year a Saracen fleet of a hundred vessels about to assail Sardinia, was engulfed in the sea, in consequence, it seems, of the sea suddenly opening its mouth and swallowing them up, and that this unheard-of phenomenon occurred simultaneously with a fiery sign in the heavens which many affirmed to have seen; to him the intelligence was brought by a messenger of his whom he had sent with the emperor's letter to the patrician of Sicily; that messenger had his information from the ambassadors of the khalif, and it was, moreover, confirmed to the said

¹ See p. 427.

² Leonis III., ep. 6 (Jaffé).

³ Annal. Einh., 813. Vita Caroli, c.

17.

messenger by a notary of the patrician's, who knew it from a letter he had received from an African Christian."

This seems a circuitous source of information, but the matter is explained by the circumstance that some of the pirates were Africans, and that the story of their horrible death raised such a cry of distress on the part of their surviving friends there, the like of which had never been heard before.

The pope continues, "that the same papal messenger, moreover, on his return to Rome, met in Catania a man on his way to the patrician with the announcement that seven Moorish vessels had plundered a village near Rhegium."

It is interesting to glean from the same epistle particulars concerning a peace negotiating between ambassadors of the khalif of Bagdad and the patrician of Sicily. The latter was at first averse to such a pact, on the ground that no confidence could be put in the good faith of the Saracens, alleging that they had as readily broken the treaty of A. D. 728, as that which his predecessor had concluded with them for the space of ten years terminating Sept. 1, 814.

The Saracen plenipotentiaries excused the infractions by the confusion incident upon the death of the late Harun-al- + **March 23, 809**] Raschid which his youthful son had been unable to check, saying, that then "the servant became free, and every free-man was his own master and all acted as if they had no ruler. But matters stood different now that the khalif had reconquered all the possessions of his father, and was fully purposed inviolably to observe the conditions of the proposed treaty of peace."¹ They could not, however, make themselves answerable for the Spanish Saracens, as not under the jurisdiction of their khalif, but promised to oppose them at sea; they would do their part, but expected the Christians to do theirs also, adding, that they had already pursued that course on their voyage in ordering two Spanish vessels which they met to be burned.

The pope continues saying, "that a treaty of peace had

¹ The ambassadors were not aware brother Al-Mamam succeeded him that he had ceased to reign. His Sept. 25, 813.

been concluded for the space of ten years between the aforesaid Bagdad Saracens and the patrician, who for the ratification of the same sent a notary to accompany them, and on condition that they should deliver his Christian subjects remaining captive in their hands, surrendered to them such Saracen prisoners as were in his possession."¹

With the light derived from this exposition of the case, the annals record the conclusion of a treaty of peace between the khalif El Hakem (= *Abulas*) of Cordova and Charles; it was to last three years (from 812 to 815), and the initiative, it appears, was taken by the former.²

It is difficult to reconcile it with the expedition, by order of Louis, against Huesca.³ It was commanded by the "imperial" *missus* Heribert, who on his way put to flight, or took prisoners, all who offered any resistance, and then began the regular investment of the place.

During its continuance a party of youthful Franks in fool-hardy arrogance drew quite near to the walls, and irritated the soldiers on the ramparts with offensive remarks and arrows which they shot at them. The Arabs, seeing an opportunity for resenting the outrage, opened a sally-port and fell upon the offenders. In the *mêlée* which ensued much blood was shed, when the Arabs returned into the city and the Franks to their camp. This is the only known incident of the siege, which ran its weary length until the country around Huesca was a wilderness, and the besiegers, doubtless from want of food, raised it, returned to Aquitaine, and might report the utter failure of the enterprise to King Louis, who was indulging his passion for the chase in the woods, for it was late in autumn.⁴

813] It seems that the military expedition of that king against the Vasconians was undertaken in the course of the ensuing summer.⁵ Those refractory mountaineers were

¹ Leonis III. ep. 7 (Jaffé), cf. no. 6. See the valuable notes of Jaffé, his authorities, and the further extracts by Simson, *l. c.*, II., p. 526.

² Annal. Einh., 812. Cf. Chron. Moiss., Vita Hlud., c. 20.

³ Vita Hludov. c. 17. Some place it in 811, and 810. See Mühlbacher, *l. c.*, no. 500, p. 213 sq.; Simson, *l. c.*, II., 493.

⁴ Vita Hludov. c. 17.

⁵ See Mühlbacher, *l. c.*, no. 500 a.

again troublesome, and the king stated to a General Diet, which he had convened, that in his judgment the rebellious movement imperilled the public safety and ought to be forthwith put down. The Diet shared his views and recommended the immediate and energetic execution of his purpose.

Louis thereupon led an army into the region in insurrection, and having ordered a halt at *Aquæ, i. e.*, Dax on the Adour, commanded the rebels to appear before him. They paid no heed to his summons. He then moved upon their own district and bade his warriors lay it waste; this brought them to terms, for it is stated that they came as suppliants for mercy, and "with great gifts purchased forgiveness." He then crossed the Pyrenees, marched to Pampeluna, and stayed in that region for some time until he had ordered matters essential to public and private interest. But the record fails to state what they were.

On his return the treacherous Vasconians attempted to repeat their old and habitual scheme of ambushade, but the plan was discovered, and its promoters brought to justice. One of the ringleaders was seized and hung; the rest of those compromised were adjudged in the loss of their wives and children (it is intimated as hostages or pledges for their future good behavior), while the king and his army, thus mercifully saved from imminent peril, returned safe and sound into Aquitaine.¹

To the period under consideration belong likewise several other military expeditions conducted by the lieutenants of Charles, for the last enterprise, which he led in person, was that against the Danes narrated on a former page. Thus **811**] we hear of three separate expeditions sent in the same year, against the Linonians, into Pannonia, and Brittany; the objects for which they were undertaken were the following.

The first had instructions to cross the Elbe, devastate the country of the inimical Linonians and Bethencians, and

¹ Vita Hludov. c. 18. Cf. Lembke, fabulous story in Hist. reg. Franc. Geschichte v. Spanien, I., 382, and the monast. s. Dionysii, 19, SS. IX., 400.

rebuild the fortress of Hohbuoki, on the Elbe, which the Welatabians had destroyed in the preceding year.

The second had the duty of terminating the ceaseless quarrels between the Avars and their Sclavonian neighbors.

The third was required to put down a fresh insurrection which had broken out in Brittany, and punish the perfidy of its rebellious population.²

Although the annals record with laconic brevity that these several expeditions prosperously accomplished all the objects for which they were sent forth and returned unhurt,³ it is proper to take this with certain qualifications. The results of the first enterprise were doubtless satisfactory; **Nov., 811**] those of the second also were so measurably, for a few months later the Pannonian chieftains, Avars and Sclavonians, in response to directions received from the leaders of the expedition, appeared before the emperor in person, presumably for the purpose of learning his final dispositions, of which we know that thenceforth no member of the blood royal of the Huns should reign in Hungary, but that conformably to the wishes of their nobility the government should be administered by legates or *missi*, and that the people, as far as practicable, should be brought up in the Christian religion;⁴ those of the third, however, were not so satisfactory, as the records of the next reign clearly set forth.⁵

In the following, otherwise pacific, year a considerable expedition was sent against the hostile Welatabians, the same who made common cause with Gottfried and destroyed (810) the fortress of Hohbuoki, and who until then had not yet been chastised. Three armies, probably only detachments of the same expeditionary force, entered their territory from three separate directions and accomplished their subjugation. They made their submission and gave hostages.⁵

² Cf. Capitulare Bonon. a. 811.

³ Annal. Einh., Maxim.; cf. Chron. Moiss.

⁴ Melchior Inchofer ad. an. apud Cointe, I. c., VII., 189.

⁵ Simson, *Jahrb. d. fränk. Reichs unter Ludwig d. Frommen*, I., 128 sqq.

⁶ Annal. Einh.; Chron. Moiss. a. 812.

The final submission of Benevento also appears among the achievements of that pacific year. It seems to have been mainly due to the diplomatic ability and personal influence of the excellent Adalhard, at that time imperial *missus*, and at the head of the Italian kingdom. It is said that he went in person to Benevento, composed the difficulty with Spoleto, and arranged a peace with duke Grimoald Store-saiz, who agreed to the immediate payment of a tribute of twenty-five thousand gold *solidi* for arrears, and thereafter to that of an annual tribute of seven thousand gold *solidi*. He was guaranteed the entire possession of his duchy, excepting only the Teatensian territory which Pepin had conquered,¹ and remained separate from Beneventan rule. It is interesting to know how he accomplished so much. "Wherever he went he carried peace with him. When he arrived at Benevento the whole country was in arms against Spoleto. Such was their martial frenzy that they annihilated their all by fire, and sword, and pillage. Savage Bel-lona incited them to indiscriminate slaughter, and made them think it a glorious thing to recover their losses by robbing the enemy. They would rather endure want than defeat. At last a man of God appeared among them as a mediator and herald, and being consulted by both sides, urged them to peace; nor forbore his blessed offices until he had united them in the bonds of peace so that they kissed (*ad oscula*) each other. Thus he restored peace, etc."² That herald doubtless was Adalhard.

¹ Annal. Einh., 812. Vita Adalh. narrative fits the man. Alia Vita 29, MG. SS., II., 527; Erchempert, [Adalh.], auct. Gerardo, c. 21, apud Hist. Lang. c. 7, *ibid.* SS. Langob. Mabilon, A. S., ed. Venet. IV., p. 236. 330.

² This may be exaggeration, but the

CHAPTER VI.

THE MAN CHARLES.

Death of Charles the Younger.—Estimate.—Death of Adelhaid.—Death of Pepin the Hunchback.—Charles broken by grief.—He appoints Bernhard king of Italy.—Attack of sickness.—Charles designates Louis his associate in the empire.—Version of Nigellus.—Opposition to Louis.—He is sent for.—Proclaimed emperor.—His coronation.—Last illness and death of Charles.—His burial.—Legendary accounts.—Emperor Otto III. opens the tomb of Charles.—Elevation of the remains, and canonization of Charles.

THE man Charles, dissociated from war, and external relations, other than those of his family, will now engage our exclusive attention.

It was late in 811, when a terrible blow struck him in the death of Charles, his eldest son by Hildegard. Next to nothing is known of its cause, the sole record being that "he died in consequence of a headache proceeding from the eyes."¹ This is vague information. It is equally surprising that we have to chronicle similar reticence on other matters of personal moment; for instance, there are no certain data concerning his age, the place of his death and burial. The only person who knew is silent.²

Charles, probably born in 772, was not yet forty years of age at the time of his death. The first mention of him in history is his presence with his parents at the consecration of the church at Lorsch,³ in 774; his first military exploit

¹ Annal. Lobiens.

² I do not wish to wrong Einhard, but submit that his reticence deserves censure. He had at this time daily intercourse with the emperor, and was on terms of intimacy with the whole imperial family. After the emperor's death he stood in similar relations to Louis, and in his reign wrote the

biography of Charles, which contains not a line or a word that by implication could detract from the reigning emperor.

Praise of the dead brother, for qualities in which Louis was deficient, might be distasteful or suggest comparison. May this explain his silence?

³ Mülbacher, *l. c.*, p. 68.

took place ten years later in the Saxon war; in 790 his father gave him the duchy of Maine, and probably the title of "king." About that time he sued for the hand of a daughter of King Offa, but the project fell through, and he never married.¹

He distinguished himself in war, especially in the Saxon campaigns, and the expeditions against the Czechs and Wends. He was the favorite son and constant companion of his father, whom he resembled in appearance and manner.²

He was handsome, the ornament of the Court, uniting to physical strength, celerity, executive ability, and military skill, a pleasant address, and a naturally strong mind, graced by accomplishment in letters. He is spoken of as endowed with the spirit and intellectual qualities of his sire, the hope of the empire, and the destined occupant of the imperial throne.

This was expressed during his life, and asserted in the next and successive reigns. It seems also confirmed by what had occurred. The portion assigned to him in the division of the empire was greater than that of his brothers, and embraced the whole of the original Frankish dominions. And in this connection the Saxon poet exclaims: "Him did his sire designate to succeed in the throne of the Franks, had not the Lord been pleased to direct otherwise."³

Who can doubt, after this bare recital of facts, that the death of Charles evoked universal grief,⁴ and that none grieved more sadly, or wept more bitterly than his aged father?⁵

We see him weeping for Charles, as Jacob wept for Joseph. Jacob wept, and lived to see Joseph again; the emperor wept, but wept in vain, for Charles was not.

No epitaph of his has been preserved; the nearest approach to one is the high-flown but affectionate greeting

¹ Annal. Mett. 790, S. Amandi cont. 789.—Gest. abb. Fontan.

² Angilbert, Carm. 6; Annal. Quedlinb. 811.

³ Angilbert, Carm. 2, 33 sqq.; Poeta Saxo, IV., 281 sqq.; Erm. Nigell.

Eleg. II., 171, 2.—Cf. Art. 3, p. 419.

⁴ "Cum luctu omnium defunctus est."—Annal. Lobiens. a. 812.

⁵ Vita Caroli, c. 19.—Poeta Saxo, V., 271 sqq.; 275 sqq.

of Theodulf, indited in more sunny days, on the occasion of Charles taking possession of the duchy of Maine, and descriptive of the youthful king.¹

Alcuin wrote to Charles: "I rejoice, most dearly beloved son, as I heard from your servant Osulfus, in the devotedness of your good inclination, the frequency of your alms, and your practice of humility. Such things, you may assuredly believe, are well pleasing to God, and certain, of His mercy, to redound to your eternal blessedness."²

This testimony flatly contradicts the alleged want of humility with which the biographer of Alcuin charges the younger Charles.³ He seems to have considered the humility of attitude the token and expression of inward humility of heart. The unpleasant ecclesiastical, monkish, and conventional humility of drooping head, downcast eyes, and folded hands, is often misleading, and suggestive of anything rather than true humility, which, ever disdainful of outward show, and mindful of the precepts of the Great Teacher of humility, studiously avoids it.

Why should not the royal Charles kneel at the chancel rail with head erect and yet be a humble-minded Christian as Alcuin expressly testifies he was?

Nor was this the only bereavement of that sad and trying year. Adelaide, or Adalinda, the last of the morganatic

¹ "O Charles! my sweet delight, the empire's hope and praise,
May God for aye hold bliss for thee in store!
Thy sire's, thy country's, yea all the senate's joy
Thou multipli'st, with glory on thy path.
Electrum bright, and glitt'ring gold in fire refin'd,
Yea, all the metals, at thy splendor fade.
More fleet than bird thou art, in strength the lion's lord,
In arts well skill'd, with weapons prompt at hand.
The sister orbs within my head for thee I strain,
For cherish'd sight of thee my heart cries out.
Ah! if thy coming to these western parts I knew,
Thy loving vassal wist his master near,
More swift than Notus light, or dawn-born Eurus fleet,
I'd hasten forth and eager kiss thy welcome feet."

Theodulf. Carm. 35.—Poet. Latin., etc., I. c., p. 526 sq.

² Alc. ep. 245 (Jaffé).

³ See p. 300.

wives of Charles, the mother of Theoderic,¹ his infant son, died at Aix-la-Chapelle. One of the old chroniclers calls her *li empereres*, the empress, quaintly adding that "from that day forth the emperor Charles spent the residue of his days without a wife."²

And yet a third bereavement. The death, in the monastery of Prüm, of the eldest born of all his children, the son of his youth, the child of Himiltrud, the poor, misguided, unhappy Pepin the Hunchback. What memories his death awakened! And can we doubt, as we recall them, and remember the mercy of Charles, that he wept also for him? He had long since forgiven him; time had softened his feelings; the chastening hand of God, moreover, made him more tender, and we know that he would often relieve himself in weeping.³

Christmas came. In former years it came laden with the blessings of domestic joys, this year it was cheerless. The sweet chimes of the basilica by the palace, and the grand music of the rich service, fell upon his ears and stirred the memories of the golden past. Of what else could he think that day but of the service in St. Peter's at Rome, when that basilica rang with the loud acclaim of Christendom assembled to witness his imperial coronation, followed by the coronation and unction of the royal Charles? Or, when he retraced his steps to the palace, and gazed upon the vacant seats at the family table, and the orphans of Pepin, would there not recur to his mind the *magnum gaudium* of the Christmas at Thionville, six years ago, when all his royal sons were present, and he unfolded to them his plans with the bright and golden visions of their long and glorious reign? Alas for him, two of those sons lay bedded in marble. The strong man's heart quivered with sorrow, and though he might dash away the tears which unbidden would flow, he sate grieving, and his heart went out to Louis in distant Aquitaine, sole hope of his declining years.

¹ Born in 810.

Chron. de St. Denis, apud Bouquet, V., 260.

³ Vita Caroli, c. 19.

The death of Pepin and Charles cancelled the law of the partition of the empire, but Charles, in token of his affection, designated Bernhard to succeed Pepin his father.¹ During his minority² the affairs of Italy were administered by *missi*.

Charles sent Bernhard to Italy in 812, probably with the regal title, for documents dating from that year name it as the first of his reign.

It is of record that after the departure of the Byzantine ambassadors, Charles "held a General Diet at Aix-la-Chapelle and sent his grandson Bernhard, the son of Pepin, to Italy,"³ and "gave him the kingdom of the Lombards."⁴

Adalhard, moreover, during the term of his administration as *missus* for Italy, "took him a wife, and by command of the sovereign, set [Bernhard] over the whole realm."⁵

The name of his wife was Cunigund,⁶ but his mother's, and the dates of his birth and majority, are uncertain, although it is believed, on good grounds, that he became of age, and married during the life-time of Charles.⁷

Charles had passed the three score years and ten, but he was not an old man. He never grew old, and in the last year of his life did more hard work of the highest intellectual reach than many of the ablest men of only half his age are able to accomplish in twice the time. It is impossible to resist this conviction if we read, to name only one part of his activity, the numerous laws, civil and ecclesiastical, which were drawn up and enacted in that year, under his direction, and most probably with his personal co-operation. Nor was he old physically, for in spite of his hoary head he was early and late in the saddle, hunting in the Ardennes. Still, during the last four years of his life, his health was not robust, he was subject to frequent fevers, while constant fretting and undue exposure told upon him.

¹ Vita Caroli, c. 19.

² Under Riparian law the completion of the 15th year.

³ Annal. Einh., a. 812.

⁴ Annal. Xanth.

⁵ Transl. S. Viti (Jaffé), I., 7, 8.

⁶ Affo, Parma, I., 283.

⁷ On these knotty points see Mühlbacher, *l. c.*, nos. 466 a; 496 b. c.; and Simson, *l. c.*, II., 483 sqq.

It is hinted that he had the gout, and stated, that at the last he limped a little with one foot. In May, that year, 813] while hunting in the Ardennes, he had a violent attack of pain in his foot, and was compelled to go to bed. When the pain subsided he returned to Aix-la-Chapelle.¹

Before that he had held the Diet in which he introduced the matter touching the five Provincial Councils for the reformation of the Church already familiar to us. There he is said, but not on good authority, to have also broached the question of the succession of Louis. The account, which is manifestly, and not very tastefully, embellished, reads more like caricature than history; it is metrical and given in prose for what it is worth.

"The aged emperor convoked a Diet at Aix-la-Chapelle, and from his golden throne thus spoke to his chosen great:

"Listen, liege vassals, to what I believe you know full well. In the fiery days of youthful strength I went to war and led my Franks to victory in foreign lands. But now my blood runs cold, old age creeps on, as my silvered hair and trembling right hand, once famed for warlike deeds throughout the world, do show.

"Two of my sons, alas, by God's decree, are dead and buried; I bow to His will, rejoicing that Christ has not wholly forsaken you, and spared the third who has always been delighted to obey me and exalt my sway. He has ever had a loving care for the Church, and led his kingdom to great prosperity. You remember his victories over the Moors, and the rich spoil he brought. Counsel me then, Franks, that I may know what to do.'

"Then Einhard, much beloved by Charles, a man wise and good, fell down before the king, and kissing his feet thus wisely spoke:

"Caesar! from pole to pole renowned, on earth and on the sea, who hast given us the splendor of empire, we cannot by our advice improve what God has put into thy heart. Carry out thy purpose. Thou hast a son whose

¹ Annal. Einh., 813, Vita Caroli, c. 22.

virtues fit him well to rule thy realm. I utter the voice of all thy lands in praying thee to give him to us; thus begs the Church, and Christ Himself approves the choice. We think him fit, upon thy death, to shield the law by arms, by intellect, and faith.'

"The speech pleased Cæsar well; he prayed to Christ, and sent for his son to come with speed, for Louis, as I have said before, was in distant Aquitaine in the glorious conduct of his kingdom, etc., etc."²

This is credible but only in so far as the introduction of the question to the Diet is concerned; the narrative and the speeches bear the impress of the writer who had a strong motive for flattering Louis and Einhard; the remainder of his account is omitted, to make room for better information.³

As a matter of fact the nomination of Louis was far from unanimous; it is known that a powerful party was in favor of Bernhard, and Louis himself expected strong opposition.³ That Einhard favored and strongly advocated it, may be accepted as much established as the rich reward it brought him in the abbacies which fell to his share.⁴ The glorious

¹ Ermold. Nigell. l. c., l. II., v. 3 sqq. have set him free. (Wattenbach, Dümmler, Funck, Simson.)

² The fulsome eulogy of Nigellus, of course, is not history. A few explanatory words respecting the historical value of the authorities about to be cited may not be superfluous.

Nigellus was a native of Aquitaine, a monk, and the favorite of Pepin II., the son of Louis; he sided with the son, and set him against his father. Louis banished him to Strasburg, where he found a friend in bishop Bernald. There he wrote four books in elegiac verse in glorification of the deeds of Louis; sent them to the emperor and the empress Judith, but his flatteries were too transparent to impose upon Louis, which is saying a great deal. His object was to regain his liberty, but he failed then, although the victory of the conspirators in 830 appears to

Theganus, Thegan, or Degan, chor-episcopus in the diocese of Trier (Treves), wrote a biography of Louis reaching to 835, during the lifetime of the emperor, hardly less fulsome in eulogy than the former. Being a strong partisan of Louis, all his statements require to be received with great caution. (Wattenbach.)

The anonymous author of the Vita Hludovici, called Astronomus, was a cleric of the court of Louis and wrote after his death. This work also is strongly partisan, but its earlier portions are valuable. (Wattenbach.)

³ See the references in Mühlbacher, l. c., nos. 500, g.; 509, a.

⁴ Wattenbach, *Deutschl. Geschichtsquellen*, etc., I., 172.

conduct, by Louis, of his kingdom of Aquitaine, is pure verbiage. It was administered by Frankish counts acting under the directions of Charles,¹ and even the military achievements ascribed to him were due rather to the genius of Charles, again acting through able lieutenants, than to his own generalship. In the sole direction of ameliorating the condition of monastic institutions he seems to have acted independently and earned the praise of its inmates.²

Resuming the narrative, it appears that soon after the emperor's attack in the Ardennes and return to Aix-la-Chapelle the grand-falconer of Louis arrived on public business requiring the emperor's action. While waiting for it, Frankish and German nobles at the Court took him aside and advised him to urge upon the king of Aquitaine the necessity of his presence at Aix-la-Chapelle, representing that the infirmities of years and excessive grief would, in their opinion, hasten the emperor's end in the near future.

Returning to Aquitaine he told the king what he had heard. Louis, thinking, in the nobility of his nature, as his biographer puts it, that such a course might make him suspected by his father, contrary to the advice of his nobles who counselled his going, remained at home. He adds that God (the fear of whom ever prompted the action of Louis) and who exalts those who supremely love Him, ordered the matter more wisely.

"The king," he writes, "had just generously accorded to the people whom he was wont to fatigue with incessant war [*i. e.*, the Saracens] a two years' truce, when the Emperor Charles, considering that the sands of his life were running out and apprehensive that his sudden removal from earthly affairs might cause confusion in the empire for whose consolidation **813**] and good government he had done so much, exposing it to attacks from without and dissensions within, sent his messengers recalling his son from Aquitaine.

"Upon his arrival at the palace the emperor lovingly

¹ Abel, *l. c.*, I., 329, 360; and the authorities cited by Simson, *l. c.*, II., 515, n. 6.

² Simson, *l. c.*, II., 516, and notes.

received him, retained him throughout the summer, and instructed him on all points which he thought he ought to know, advising him as to the rule of life he should follow, the means by which he should establish order in the government, and having done so, adhere thereto."¹

Although the notice that Charles retained Louis throughout the summer is rather dubious,² the clauses which follow appear to be entitled to acceptance, first, because they agree with the charge at the Coronation, and secondly, because they were necessary.

Then followed the General Diet,³ in which the 26 Capitula became law. It was a very large and solemn assembly of all the chief men of the Frankish dominions with whom the emperor took counsel in the matter of associating with himself his son Louis in the throne.⁴

In kind and gentle words he charged the Diet to be faithful to his son, asking all present, from the highest to the lowest, if they agreed to his proposal of bestowing the imperial title upon his son Louis, and if such was their pleasure, to express it. Their response was an exultant affirmation, and all with one consent declared that it was the will of God.⁵ Another account states that they unanimously pronounced him worthy.⁶ Then it seems Louis was declared associate emperor by general acclamation, but this was only a preliminary act.

The Coronation proper took place upon the Sunday following, September 11th, in the church of St. Mary the Virgin. The emperor, arrayed in imperial robes, and wearing a crown, attended by the Estates assembled, proceeded to the altar of the basilica and caused to be placed thereon another golden crown; he and Louis then knelt down in prayer; at its conclusion he addressed a charge to him in the audience of all the bishops, princes, and lords assembled.

He bade him, above all things, fear and love Lord God

¹ Vita Hludov. c. 20. Cf. Vita Caroli, c. 30; Thegan. c. 6; Annal. Einh., a. 813; cf. Simson, *Ludwig der Fromme*, I., 4; note 3.

² See p. 468.

³ Sept., 813.

⁴ See p. 390 sqq.

⁵ Thegan. c. 6.

⁶ Chron. Moiss

Almighty and keep His commandments, govern well His Church and protect her from all her enemies.

He exhorted him to show the most tender regard for his sisters and younger brothers, his nephews and all his relatives; to honor the priests as his fathers, love the people as if they were his sons, constrain the proud and evil-doers to walk in the way of salvation, protect monastic institutions, and watch like their father over the poor.

Moreover he advised him to receive to his confidence only faithful ministers whom he knew to be God-fearing men and opposed to every form of corruption.

He bade him likewise deprive no man of his honors and living, without just cause, and be at pains always to set an example without reproach before God and all his people.

Thus spoke Charles, and much more to the same effect; and at the close of his charge, asked Louis if he was resolved obediently to keep all these precepts. Louis replied that he would cheerfully obey them, and, God being his helper, was fully resolved to keep all the precepts which his father had enjoined upon him.

Then Charles desired him to take with his own hands the crown from the altar and place it upon his head as a memorial of the counsels he had given him, and handed to him the imperial sceptre.¹

At the supreme moment of that symbolical act, Charles, according to one authority, commanded him to be proclaimed Emperor and Augustus, while agreeably to another, the assembled multitude with one accord, and as it were spontaneously, exclaimed: "Long life (*vivat*) to Emperor Louis!"

Charles then declared Louis joint emperor with himself and concluded with the ascription of praise: "Blessed art thou, O Lord God, for that thou hast granted me grace to see, with my own eyes, my son seated on my throne!"

"The act was hailed with great favor by all present, who viewed it in the light of a divine inspiration for the salvation of the realm."²

¹ Annal. Lauriss. min.; cf. Annal. S. Emmer., Juvav maj., Vita Hludov. c. 20.

² Vita Caroli, c. 30.

The Coronation being ended, Mass was said, and at the close of the service the emperors proceeded arm-in-arm to the palace. Their departure was the signal for the dispersion of the multitude; the day was publicly observed at Aix-la-Chapelle as one of festal rejoicing, and the Court celebrated the event by a state-banquet.¹

Not long after his coronation, Louis returned to Aquitaine.² After his departure, the emperor, although weak from age, set out to hunt, as usual, near his palace at Aix-la-Chapelle, and passed the rest of the autumn in the chase, returning thither about the first of November.³ This shows that his general state of health was not bad, and although we read that he spent the whole of his time in alms and prayers and the correction of books,⁴ it does not follow that after his return from the hunt he was exclusively occupied with the preparation for death.

The winter was very severe,⁵ and during its course, which as usual he spent at Aix-la-Chapelle, he had a violent attack of fever. It befell him after his customary bath on the twenty-first day of January.⁶ At all times averse to taking medicine and wont to prescribe for himself, he took to his bed, and depending on the remedial power of nature, forthwith followed his usual plan in such attacks, of abstaining from nourishment. In this he persisted, although he could not easily subsist without it, and often complained that fasting injured his health.⁷ The fever, however, so far from yielding to this treatment, seems to have increased in violence, and his condition became critical, when in addition to the fever a new assailant appeared in the form of pleurisy. Even then he persisted in fasting, and kept up his strength only by an occasional draught of water.

¹ Annal. Einh., Vita Caroli, c. 30, Chron. Moiss., Thegan. c. 20. Cf. Mühlbacher, *l. c.*, no. 466 b.

² Thegan. c. 6. The statement of Vita Hludov. c. 20, that he stayed till November, is inadmissible.

³ Vita Caroli, c. 30.

⁴ Thegan. c. 7.

⁵ Annal. Xant. 813.

⁶ According to Thegan

⁷ Vita Caroli, c. 24.

Thus he lay in great and ever-growing weakness for the space of a week, when aware of his condition, he summoned to his side his archchaplain and intimate friend, Hildibald, archbishop of Cologne, for the purpose of administering to him the Holy Sacrament of the Body and Blood of Christ, and preparing him for death.¹ This preparation did not include extreme unction; for its sacramental character was not introduced before the twelfth century.

Throughout that day and the night following he labored in great weakness. But at daybreak, knowing what was about to happen, he made an earnest effort, and gathering all his strength, stretched out his right hand, signed himself with the sign of the cross, first on the forehead, and thence over all the body, and at last, joining his hands across the chest, closed his eyes, chanting in a low voice: *In manus tuas Domine commendo spiritum meum.*²

Then he ceased to breathe. Thus died Charles in the seventy-second year of his age, and the forty-sixth³ of his reign, on the fifth of the Kalends of February, in the year of the Incarnation 814, at the third hour of the day, that is in modern phrase, on Saturday,⁴ January 28, 814, at 9 A.M.⁵

The body was solemnly washed and prepared (*curatum*),⁶ that is, most probably embalmed⁷ and carried into the church.

At first there was some hesitation as to where the interment should take place, because the emperor had given no directions as to his burial, as his biographer records.⁸ His wish in the matter, expressed in writing many years before, as far back as 769, seems to have been overlooked. In that

¹ Thegan says that this occurred the day before he died, while Einhard states, that it took place on the day of his death. — Thegan. c. 7. Vita Caroli, c. 30. I follow the former.

² "Into thy hands, O Lord, I commend my spirit."—Ps. 31, 5. A. V; 30, 6. Vulg. Lke. 23, 46.

³ Einhard says, the 47th year, proba-

bly misled by the tenor of the erroneous epitaph.

⁴ Annal. Lauriss. min., Sangall. (Baluz.), Aquens.

⁵ All the authorities for the date are cited by Simson, *l. c.*, II., 532, 534.

⁶ Vita Caroli, c. 31.

⁷ Ademar, II., 9.

⁸ Vita Caroli, c. 31.

year, under date January 13th, he donated to the monastery of St. Denis, then administered by the abbot Fulrad, the small monastery of St. Dié in the Vosges, and in the deed expressed his desire of being buried at St. Denis, where his grandfather Charles Martel and his father were at rest. To that cathedral he also conveyed the remains of his mother Bertha.¹

Uncertainty soon gave way to the general conviction that no more appropriate resting place for him, and none more honorable, could be found than in the basilica of Aix-la-Chapelle, his favorite city, in the church which he had built at his own charge, "for love of God and our Lord Jesus Christ, and in honor of the Holy and Ever Virgin His mother."²

There he was buried on the very day of his death, amid the universal lamentations of the people; it is not improbable that the body, appropriately arrayed, having a cross suspended from his neck, was placed in a Roman marble sarcophagus³ with a representation, in relief, of the rape of Proserpina, presumably the same in which it was found at the time of its elevation in 1165,⁴ and which remains to this day at Aix-la-Chapelle.⁵

Over the tomb a gilded arch was set up with an image and inscription of this tenor:

¹ Seep. 214. — Mühlbacher *l. c.*, No. 128. Abel I., 32, Simson II., 535.

² Vita Caroli c. 31. — Tantem omnium animis sedit nusquam eum honestius tumulari posse quam in ea basilica, quam ipse propter amorem Dei et domini nostri Iesu Christi et ob honorem sanctae et aeternae virginis genetricis eius proprio sumptu in eodem vico construxit.

³ So far Thietmar Chron. IV., 29 in MG. SS. III., 781. I understand the words *in solio* to signify "in a tomb," which they demonstrably may mean. See Lindner, in Preuss. Jahrb. XXXI., 431 sqq., and Forschungen XIX.,

181 sqq. The simple fact of the sepulture is stated in Vita Caroli, c. 31; Poeta Saxo, V., 695; Annal. Lobiens., Chron. Moiss. al. with additions.

⁴ See p. 487.

⁵ See Lindner, in Forschungen. etc., XIX., 183; Förster, *Raub u. Rückkehr der Persephone*; Kändler, in Jahrb. d. V., v. Alterthumsfreunden im Rheinlande, XXIX., XXX. p. 193 sqq.; Zeitschr. des Aachener Geschichtsvereins III., 97 sqq. (Fritz Berndt, *Der Sarg Karls d. Grossen*, m. Abbildung.)—Simson.

"Underneath this sepulchre reposes the body of Charles,
The Great and Orthodox Emperor,
Who did gloriously extend the kingdom of the Franks,
And after a prosperous reign of forty-seven years
Died a Septuagenarian
In the year of the Lord DCCCXIII
Of the Indiction VII
On the V. Kalends of February."¹

The foregoing account of the circumstances attending the death and burial is strictly historical; that which follows has been impugned as mythical, and the authorities containing it are not above suspicion. It cannot be rejected and is given at its worth. With this necessary caution we proceed. The writer narrates that "the body" of Charles, "after having been embalmed was placed in sitting posture on a golden seat in the vault of the sepulchre, girt with a golden sword, holding a golden *evangelium*² in the hands upon the knees, the arms reclining on the seat, and the head held up erect by means of a golden chain fastened to the diadem; in the diadem was placed a piece of the holy cross. And they filled the sepulchre with aromatics, pigments [*sic*], balsam and musk and many treasures in gold. The body was arrayed in imperial robes, and the face covered with a handkerchief under the diadem.

¹ "SUB hoc conditorio situm est corpus Karoli Magni atque Orthodoxi imperatoris. Qui regnum Francorum nobiliter ampliavit et per annos XLVII feliciter rexit. Decessit septuagenarius anno Domini [DCCCXIII], indictione [VII], V. Kal. Febr."—Einh., Vita Caroli, c. 31.

Some manuscripts omit the figures in brackets. The inscription contains an error; Charles died in the 46th year of his reign. His age is variously stated. I accept, upon the highest authority extant, April 2, 742, as his birthday, and hold that he died in the 72d year of his age. The authori-

ties referred to are cited with scholarly accuracy by Simson, *l. c.*, II., 534 sq. and less fully by Mühlbacher, *l. c.*, pp. 53, 54.

² It is stated that the *evangelium*, or, Book of the Gospels, written on purple vellum in characters of gold, still shown at Aix-la-Chapelle, together with other *curiosa*, is that named in the text. I can only repeat what is said, for a letter of mine, addressed to the highest ecclesiastical authorities at Aix-la-Chapelle desiring official information on the subject, has brought no response.

The *cilicium* [*i. e.*, hair-cloth garment] which [Charles] was always wont to wear in secret they placed next to his skin, and the pilgrim's wallet he carried on his journeys to Rome outside the imperial robes. A golden sceptre, and a golden shield, which Pope Leo had consecrated, were suspended before him; then they closed and sealed the sepulchre."¹

It is incomprehensible, if not incredible, that so wide and startling a departure from the usual mode of burial should have escaped the notice of contemporary scribes, nor is the omission less surprising if we recollect that with hardly an exception they were clerics or monks. The solitary record of a late authority of a corrupt character needs authentication.

But such authentication is supposed to be furnished in the subjoined account.

In the year A.D. 1000, the Emperor Otto III., being at Aix-la-Chapelle, under an irresistible impulse of seeing the tomb of Charles, ordered it to be opened and descended into the crypt, accompanied by two bishops and count Otto of Lomello. The latter describes that memorable visit in these words:

"We entered and went to Charles, for unlike the bodies of other men his did not lie, but sat upright like a living person on a chair. The body was crowned with a golden diadem; the hands were covered with gloves through which the nails had grown, and held a sceptre. Above it stood a handsome marble mausoleum, through which an opening had to be broken before we could draw near. A strong odor met us as we entered; we paid our homage in the attitude of kneeling. Then the emperor covered the body with white vestments, cut the nails, and repaired whatever had fallen into decay.

"All the limbs were in a state of perfect preservation, but a small portion of the bridge of the nose was missing, which the emperor caused to be supplied in gold. He removed one of the teeth from the mouth, had the opening in the mausoleum walled up again, and left."²

¹ Ademar. II., 9. MG. SS. I., 201.

² Chronic. Novalic, apud Muratori, *Rer. Italic.*, c. II., pt. 2, p. 728.

Another version of the same visit contains the additional details, that Otto having been admonished in a dream to elevate the body of the Emperor Charles the Great, discovered the place of his sepulture, after a three days' fast even as he had seen it in the vision, found the body as before described, elevated and showed it to the people. One of the canons of the cathedral, a certain Adalbert, a very tall and large man, placed the imperial crown on his own head and found that it was too large for him; he also measured his leg with the emperor's and perceived that his was shorter. Nor was this all; by divine power (*virtute*) his own immediately broke or shrunk so that he remained a cripple for forty years to come. The account continues that the body of Charles was placed in the right aisle of his basilica behind the altar of St. John Baptist, etc., etc.¹

On the other hand, it is distinctly asserted that "being in doubt as to the place where the bones of Charles the emperor might repose, and having secretly removed the pavement where he believed them to be, he ordered the laborers to dig until they were found in the royal tomb (*solio regio*). Having taken the golden cross, suspended from the neck, and a portion of the vestments which were still in perfect preservation, he replaced the rest with great reverence."² Will the reader draw his own conclusions?

There is no room for doubting the fact that Otto disturbed the repose of the imperial remains, and was censured for it.³ The superstitious saw in it an omen of evil; this may be the origin of the legend that Charles appeared to him in a dream and foretold to him the nearness of his own death. The vision may be doubted, but the fact of his speedy demise is established. It is commonly reported that Otto desired to be buried by the side of Charles. He died January 23, 1002, at Paterno in Italy. His wish was re-

¹ Ademar, Labbe, *Nov. Bibl. manu-script*, l. II., 169.

² Thietmar, Chron. IV., 29. MG. SS., III., 781. *Solium* means a throne, a chair, a bath-tub, a coffin

(Pliny. Curtius), a barrel, a door-sill, a pulpit, a room. See the dictionaries.

³ Annal. Hildesh. a. 1000.

spected and his remains, after a long and eventful journey on which they often lay in state, were taken to Aix-la-Chapelle, and on Easter Day lowered into a vault in the centre of the cathedral, not finally, however, for they were subsequently removed to another spot which the elector Frederic the Wise marked with a monument in 1513; it disappeared during the French occupation of the city in 1803, and the tomb of Otto III. is now unknown.

We may add that the remains of Charles were not suffered to lie undisturbed. Three hundred and fifty-two years after their first entombment they were brought forth under the following circumstances.

It appears from official records that the Emperor Frederic I., yielding to the earnest entreaties of King Henry II., of England, and his own impulse, by consent and authority of the antipope Paschalís, obtained the canonization of Charles, and that the rightful pope, Alexander III., sanctioned the act.

There was first a solemn service for the elevation, exaltation, and canonization on Christmas Day, and then on the 4 Kalends of January the basilica of Aix-la-Chapelle was filled to its utmost capacity with a vast multitude of worshippers, among them the Emperor Frederic Barbarossa, the Empress Beatrice, their sons Frederic and Henry, a large concourse of princes and ecclesiastics, to witness amid the singing of hymns and spiritual songs, the solemn and reverential elevation and exaltation of the body of Charles, and his canonization as a holy Confessor. His bones were elevated with great reverence and honorably enclosed in a silver chest by Raynaldus, archbishop of Cologne, and Alexander, bishop of Liège.

It would seem, however, that the remains thus enclosed did not include the entire body, but that the head was sent to Osnabrück, where it is honored with the relics of Crispin and Crispinianus, martyrs.

The Roman Church observes his day on the 28th of January, and the special Collect then used at Minden and elsewhere, reads as follows:

"O God, who in the superabounding plenitude of thy goodness hast exalted the blessed Charles the Great, Emperor and Thy Confessor, after having laid aside the veil of the flesh, to the glory of a blissful immortality, mercifully grant that as Thou didst raise him to the praise and glory of Thy Name to imperial honor upon earth, so of Thy grace we may be found worthy ever to enjoy his pious and propitious intercession in heaven, through Jesus Christ, our Lord."¹

¹ Boland. *Acta Sanct.*, ad Jan. 28, p. 874.

CHAPTER VII.

RÉSUMÉ.

Sorrow for Charles.—Omens.—"Vision of Charles the Great."—Charles "the Father of the Universe."—Sketch of his empire, subjects, and tributary races.—Estimate.—The night-side and light-side of his character.—Comparison with other illustrious men.—Names he bore in life.—Unanimous verdict of posterity.—The love he inspired.—Passage from Alcuin.—The Funeral Chant.

814] THE sorrow for Charles was doubtless sincere, though hardly as profound and universal as the monk of Angoulême insinuates. "It would be impossible," he writes, "to tell how men wept and mourned for him throughout the earth; even the pagans lamented for him as for the Father of the Universe. But most of all did Christians bewail his death, especially throughout the whole extent of his empire."¹

The pagans, to whom he alludes, were friendly Danish chiefs, the Frankish Saracens of the Spanish Marche, the emir of Cordova, and a number of unconverted Abodrites, Sclavonians and Avars.

The Christians other than those of the Frankish empire, were the Byzantines, and the people of Great Britain.

The sincerity of the grief of the pope, the hierarchy, the priests and monks, the counts and beneficed persons generally, was beyond dispute; but the subjugated races, especially the exiled Saxons, may have heard the tidings of his death not without a sense of relief.

With these exceptions the sorrow was general, and men wondered what would follow the demise of the mighty king, who had added so many kingdoms to the kingdom of his inheritance, that he might justly be regarded as the Father of the Universe.²

¹ Monach. Engol. Bouquet, V., 186.

² Epitaph. C. M. Migne, XCVIII., 1446. See note 2, p. 483.

The biographer of Charles comments upon his death in the spirit which marks the author of the "Account of the Translation of the Relics of St. Marcellinus and St. Peter." He says that "numerous omens had portended his approaching end, a fact that he had recognized as well as others. Eclipses both of the sun and moon were frequent during the last three years of his life, and a black spot was visible on the sun for the space of seven days."¹

"The gallery between the basilica and the palace, which he had built at great pains and labor, fell in sudden ruin to the ground on the day of our Lord's Ascension.

"The wooden bridge over the Rhine at Mayence, which he had caused to be constructed with admirable skill, at the cost of ten years' hard work, so that it seemed as if it might last for ever, was so completely consumed in three hours by an accidental fire that not a single splinter of it was left, except what was under water."²

"Moreover, one day in his last campaign in Saxony against Godofrid, King of the Danes, Charles himself saw a ball of fire fall suddenly from the heavens with a great light, just as he was leaving camp before sunrise to set out on the march. It rushed across the clear sky from right to left, and everybody was wondering what was the meaning of the sign, when the horse he rode gave a sudden plunge headforemost, and fell, and threw him to the ground so heavily that his cloak-buckle was broken, and his sword-belt shattered; and after his servants had hastened to him and relieved him of his arms, he could not rise without their assistance. He happened to hold a javelin in his hand when he was thrown, which was flung from his grasp with such force that it was found lying at a distance of twenty feet or more from the spot."³

"Again, the palace at Aix-la-Chapelle frequently trembled; the roofs of whatever buildings he tarried in kept up a continual crackling noise; the basilica, in which he was afterwards buried, was struck by lightning, and the gilded

¹ He explains this very differently in the Annals, s. a. 807.

² See p. 275 sq.

³ This happened in 810.

ball that adorned the pinnacle of the roof was shattered by the thunderbolt, and hurled upon the bishop's house adjoining.

"In this same basilica, on the margin of the cornice that ran around the interior, between the upper and lower tiers of arches, a legend was inscribed in red letters, stating who was the builder of the temple, the last words of which were *Karolus Princeps*.

"The year that he died it was remarked by some, a few months before his decease, that the letters of the word *Princeps* were so effaced as to be no longer decipherable.

"But Charles despised, or said he despised, all these omens, as having no reference whatever to him."¹

It is pleasing to record the last sentence. The reader of these pages has doubtless long since learned that the great Charles could not have but despised these "omens," or any other omens whatsoever, for he knew that they had no reference to him. Is there an enlightened man of common sense who could think otherwise? What reference should they have? And what kind of philosophy and theology is theirs who recognize such a reference?

It is very doubtful, if the whole story of these "omens" has any other foundation than the heated imagination of the superstitious Einhard. At any rate they bear a remarkable resemblance to those which Suetonius records in his life of Augustus.²

¹ Vita Caroli, c. 32.

² "His death, of which I shall now speak, and his subsequent deification, were intimated by divers manifest prodigies. As he was finishing the census amidst a great crowd of people in the Campus Martius, an eagle hovered round him several times, and then directed its course to a neighboring temple, where it settled upon the name of Agrippa, and at the first letter. Upon observing this, he ordered his colleague Tiberius to put up the vows, which it is usual to make on

such occasions, for the succeeding Lustrum. For he declared he would not meddle with what it was probable he should never accomplish, though the tables were ready drawn for it. About the same time, the first letter of his name, in an inscription upon one of his statues, was struck out by lightning, which was interpreted as a presage that he would live only a hundred days longer, the letter C denoting that number; and that he would be placed among the gods, as Aesar, which is the remain-

This seems a convenient place for the presentation, in brief, of the so-called "Vision of Charles the Great."

Charles was wont on all occasions, at home, or on his expeditions, to have at hand a tablet and a lamp, and forthwith commit to writing such dreams as seemed to him worth preserving.¹

One night, it is not said when, or where, he lay asleep, and in a vision saw a man come up to him with a naked sword. He asked him whence he came. The man replied: "Take this sword, which God sends you as a gift; read and remember the words thereon inscribed, for they shall be fulfilled at the times appointed."

He took the prophetic weapon and discovered the words *Raht, Radoleiba, Nasg, Enti*; the first of these words was near the handle, the last near the end of the blade.

Then he awoke, procured light, and set down in writing all he had seen. In the morning, after prayers, he told the vision to those present, bidding them explain it. None but Einhard spoke, who thought that the sender of the sword would doubtless reveal to him the interpretation.

Then Charles said that so far as he was able to grasp the meaning, he accepted the God-sent weapon as symbolic of the power which had enabled him to subdue so many nations, and that as now, in a time of peace, they enjoyed greater plenty than of yore, so he explained the first word *Raht*, near the handle, as denoting "abundance of everything."

The second word *Radoleiba* he believed would not be ful-

ing part of the word Caesar, signifies in the Tuscan language, a god.^a Being, therefore, about despatching Tiberius to Illyricum, and designing to go with him as far as Beneventum, but being detained by several persons who applied to him respecting causes they had depending, he cried out (and it was afterwards regarded as an omen of his death), "Not all the busi-

ness in the world shall detain me at Rome one moment longer;" and setting out upon his journey, he went as far as Astura,^b whence, contrary to his custom, he put to sea in the night time, as there was a favorable wind." — Suetonius, *Caesar Augustus*, c. XCVII. (Bohn's edition, p. 142).

¹ Vita Caroli, c. 25.

^a Aesar is a Greek word with a Tuscan ending; *aisa*, signifying fate.

^b It stood near Terracina on the road to Naples.

filled until after his death, when there would be neither the plenty they then enjoyed, nor so many nations as were then subject to his rule, and interpreted it as signifying "speedy deficiency."

And when they were dead, and their sons were reigning, there would be *Nasg*. They would multiply taxes for lucre's sake, oppress strangers and travellers, be destitute of truth, and by foul means acquire wealth; they would rob the Church of what he and his ancestors had given to it, and bestow it upon their minions and satellites. Such he thought was the meaning of *Nasg*.

As to the word *Enti* inscribed near the point of the blade, that, he thought, might be understood in two ways, and applied either to the end of the world, or to the end of his dynasty, when none of his offspring should rule the Franks.

Thus ran his interpretation of the vision, "as the abbot Einhard often told it to the monk Rhabanus, and Rhabanus, afterwards archbishop [of Mayence],⁴ to many persons, myself included, who have committed it to writing.

"Some of which things have been fulfilled in former times, some quite recently. For in the reign of the Emperor Louis, the successor of Charles, the Bretons and most of the Slavonian nations rebelled, and there was great dearth in many places. After his death, his sons Lothair,² Pepin,³ and Louis, throughout their neglectful reigns, began to multiply *Nasg*.

"It would be a long story to tell how many monasteries and churches, how many priests and monks, he spoiled to enrich his satellites. Lothair did the like in Italy. Concerning which matter there is a letter extant, written in the time of his son, in which Bishop Witgarius⁴ asks what peace the Holy Roman Church might have, which letter is still preserved in the archives of St. Martin,⁵ and among other things contains this answer: 'The Holy Roman Church, her

¹ 814-856.

² Emperor, 822-855.

³ King of Aquitaine, 814-838; died before his father, Louis the Pious.

⁴ Of Augusta, 860(?)–887.

⁵ At Mayence.

patron, and the people generally, are wounded, torn asunder, mangled, humiliated, annihilated.'"¹

The monk of Angoulême calls Charles the "Father of the Universe."² What was that Universe?

Following the coast line in an easterly direction from where the Atlantic breakers thunder against the rock-bound coast of Brittany, along the Channel, past modern France, Belgium, Holland, and Germany, to the Eider, which separated the last-named country from Denmark, and along that river to the Baltic as far as the mouth of the Oder; thence in a south-easterly direction to the confluence of the Theiss and the Danube; thence in a southerly direction to about the forty-fifth degree of latitude near ancient Sirmium; then turning westward to a point in Dalmatia, along the Adriatic past Liburnia and Venetia, thence in a southerly course along the same sea, across the Italian peninsula to the Tyrrhenian Sea, and skirting the whole western coast of Italy north of the Tiber, inclusive of Corsica and other islands, to the southern coast of France; and thence in a south-westerly direction along the coast of Spain to the mouth of the Ebro, thence across the Iberian peninsula, north of Saragossa, to the frontier of Oviedo; thence northward by Roncesvalles to the southernmost point of Gascony, and returning along the Atlantic coast of France to the starting point in Brittany—we have traced in the rough the limits of the Frankish empire at the close of this reign. All the countries included within these limits, and the nations inhabiting them,—and probably others besides—were subject or tributary to Charles.

Speaking more in detail, he added to the Frankish realm, as ruled by Pepin, in the South: the whole of Southern France, except the Provence, together with Catalonia and part of Navarre, beyond the Pyrenees; in the North: mod-

¹ "Moguntiae litteris consignatus est post medium sæculum nonum visus nocturnus, quem Carolus Magnus de lapsura progeie sua habitum cum Einharto communicavisse ex istoque

compertum Rhabanus scriptori tradidisse fertur."—Jaffé, *Introd. Note to Visio Caroli Magni*, in *Monumenta Carolina*, p. 701.

² See p. 489.

ern Hanover, Brandenburg, Prussia to the Baltic and the Oder; in the East and Southeast: Saxony, Silesia, and the countries now comprehended in the Austro-Hungarian monarchy, together with almost the whole of Italy, the former kingdom of Naples only excepted.

The extreme limits of his empire were, in Spain: Pampluna, in the direction of the Asturias, and in that of the Khalifate of Cordova, the lower course of the Ebro. In Italy: Capes San Vito and Cavallo, the rivers Savuto and Nieto, and the northern boundaries of Lower Calabria. In the Southeast: the city of Regusa in the direction of Dalmatia, and the upper Danube in that of Servia and Croatia. In the East: the rivers Theiss, Camp, and Oder. In the North: the Baltic, the Eider, and the North Sea.

The countries and nations within these limits were either subject or tributary to Charles.

The several subject kingdoms and territories were: Austrasia, Neustria, Italy together with Corsica, Sardinia, and the Balearic Isles.

Austrasia, or Eastern Francia, originally bounded by the Scheldt, the Meuse, and the Rhine, came to designate in course of time and in a much wider sense, a territory including Hessia, the Rhenish Provinces, Alsatia, Alemannia, and Suabia (between the Rhine, the Reuss, the Rhetian Alps, the Lech, and the Rhenish Provinces), Bavaria proper between the Lech, the Isar, the Inn, the Enns, the Danube, Bohemia, and Italy. The Bavarian Northgau designated the country bounded by the Danube and Bohemia, and contained the Marches against the Sorabian and Bohemian Slavonians. The Pannonian or Eastern Marche lay between the Enns and the Raab. Austrasia also embraced Carinthia and Friuli in the Southeast, and nearer, the Saxon territory, Thuringia, Saxony beyond the Elbe, Frisia, and the Northern Marche.

Neustria, or Western Francia, originally bounded by the Scheldt, the Meuse, the Loire, Burgundy and Brittany, designated at a later period a territory including Aquitaine and Gascony between the Loire and the Pyrenees, Septi-

mania or Gothia, with Narbonne in the centre, Burgundy, Savoy, the Provence, and the Spanish Marche between the Pyrenees and the Ebro.

Italy of the Franks comprehended the Lombard kingdom, the State of the Church, and the Marches of Suza, Liguria, Trent, Chieti, and Friuli, although the last-named district had been reunited to Carinthia.

The tributary races and countries were: the Abodrites, a Slavonian people between the Trave, the Warna, the Elbe, and the Baltic; the Wilzen or Welatabians, a Slavonian people west of the Oder, inhabiting the island of Rügen, and Mecklenburg, but beyond the Warna and Brandenburg, between the Elbe, the Havel, and the Oder; the Sorabians and Linnonians, also Slavonians, on both sides of the Elbe, between the Saale, Bohemia, and the Welatabians of Brandenburg; the Bohemians or Czechs, directly south of the Sorabians, and the Moravians, east of the Bohemians, were likewise Slavonians; the Avars, east of the Theiss, were tributary, but those settled between the Save and the Drave subject to Charles. Croatia and Frankish Dalmatia were governed by a Slavonian prince subordinate to the duke of Friuli. These two provinces extended on both shores of the Adriatic, from the frontier of Venetia to the mountains of Carinthia, and thence on the Eastern shore to a point in modern Herzegovina. The duchy of Benevento was tributary, and its duke a Frankish vassal.¹

In the reign of Charles three distinct forms of government existed in Italy alone.

The old Lombard kingdom, incorporated with his empire, was nominally administered, first by his son Pepin, and then, after a brief interval following his death, by his grandson Bernhard, but virtually governed by himself. The State of the Church, or the patrimony of St. Peter, was governed by

¹ This geographical summary follows *Dissert. Chorograph.*; De Marca, *Marca Hispanica*; Conringius, *De Finibus Imperat. Germ.*; Lieble, *Mémoires sur les limites de l'Empire de Charlemagne* in Leber's *Collection*, t. II., p. 316 sqq.

the pope, acting first under the protection of the Greek emperors, and subsequently under that of Charles, first as Patrician, and ultimately, as Emperor of the West. The duchy of Benevento, as has been stated, obeyed a prince with sovereign rights, but the vassal and tributary of Charles.

The history of the formation, acquisition, and final disposition of this magnificent empire runs parallel with that narrated in this volume. It is a long stretch from the possessions administered by the Mayors of the Palace to the splendid and peerless empire which Charles bequeathed to Louis. It embraced the greater part of Continental Europe.

Within the limits we have outlined the will of Charles was law. All the independent kingdoms embraced by them had been degraded into provinces; their princes had been deposed and thrust into monastic prisons, where they languished in obscurity till death set them free; their people, together with the fiercest, most warlike and potent races, at one time the terror of the world, were subject or tributary to the invincible Charles, and might enjoy such liberty as the world then contained, provided they swore fealty to Charles, and maintained it inviolate.¹

Great feats, achievements and results like those just named may be stated at great brevity. Two words suffice to summarize the work of Charles, as it appeared to his contemporaries, when this earthly king of kings received the summons he had to obey, laid aside his crown, and prepared to meet the King of kings, and Lord of lords in heaven.

Europa subacta, that is, Europe subdued, expresses, with the exceptions stated, the actual and visible results of his long reign.

It is unnecessary to recapitulate at length the wonderful history which we have essayed to sketch in these pages. It is doubtless that of one of the most remarkable of men. The reader has perused all that the author, profiting by the splendid labors of many of the most industrious, gifted,

¹ See the forms of the oath, and its import, p. 372 sq.

and thoughtful writers known to literature, has been able to collect and verify as history, and doubtless formed his own judgment of this grand historical character. It were easy to spread the opinions of others over hundreds of pages, but such reproduction, while it would sustain the views about to be stated, might, on account of its great diversity and length, prove more embarrassing than beneficial, and for that reason, is omitted.

But a summary, plain, comprehensive, and lucid, is doubtless expected and cannot be withheld.

The boy of twelve, sent to escort Pope Stephen, was a prodigy. In him slumbered the strength of Hercules, the sagacity of Odysseus, the enterprise of Alexander, the eloquence of Demosthenes, and the intrepid zeal of Luther.

(When he appears on the stage of history for action, he stands forth poorly educated in the learning of the schools, but skilled in arms, endowed with the military glance, and a fine physique worthy of the strength of his ancestral namesake surnamed "the Hammer," and of his sire's who slew the bull and the lion; a fine horseman, a mighty hunter; a fiery, wilful, and imperious man, impatient of contradiction and opposition, of unruly passions, of a strong, clear intellect, allied to singular astuteness and unscrupulous violence.)

His character, like the globe, alternates in light and shade. The night side happily belongs to the earlier portions of his long reign.

He understood the true merits of the *coup d'état* by which the sceptre of the Merovingians passed, on the mythical authority of a pope, to the descendants of Charles Martel.

He approved the matrimonial journey of his mother to Pavia, discarded Himiltrud for Desiderata, and as unscrupulously cast her aside that he might wed Hildegard.

At feud with his brother Carloman, he lay in wait at the critical moment, and on his death usurped his throne, driving his widow and children into exile.

Then followed in quick succession, the conquest of Italy, the humiliation of the house of Desiderius, his own dis-

carded wife included; the wrong done to Gerberga, and the children of Carloman; the degradation of Tassilo, and the wrong to his descendants.

The real fate of all these unfortunates is not known, but when in later years the horrors of Verden disturbed his slumbers, who can doubt, that as from the red earth of Westphalia rose the spectral hosts of slaughtered Saxons, the unknown graves of Desiderata, Gerberga, Carloman, Desiderius, Ansa, Tassilo and others, opened to let their occupants flit past his vision?

He lived to see the error of his ways, passed through the furnace of affliction, and became the chastened, smitten Charles, purified, ennobled, and sincere.

Such are the darkest shadows of his life; but the aged monarch, who so calmly, meekly, and Christianly prepared for the last journey, was an imperial penitent, who had made his peace with God.

Turning to the light side of his character, the reflection occurs that, humanly speaking, the fortunate accident of his birth, the inheritance of a throne, a strong constitution, and doubtful principles, would have been the ruin of Charles, as they were of countless other potentates, with the same advantages, who left the world with no other trace of their existence than that they came and reigned till death swept them out into the sea of merited oblivion.

Not so in the case of Charles; he might err, as err he did; stoop to wrong, as undoubtedly he stooped; be the slave of his passions, as he is known to have been; but he had that within him which ever lifted him to a higher plane, to the sunny realm of virtue, piety, and justice.

He turned his strong intellect to the noblest pursuits in philosophy and literature, theology and law; increased in knowledge and wisdom until he distanced some of the brightest and most gifted of his contemporaries.

(He was a successful conqueror, a sagacious ruler, a clear legislator, a good counsellor, an eloquent speaker, a munificent patron of literature, a far-sighted philanthropist, and a most princely benefactor of the Church.)

He was born to be a ruler of men. Napoleon said of him, that he had the military glance, which explains his conquests; he had likewise the intellectual glance, enabling him to master every situation; the judicious and penetrating glance, making him read the thoughts and probe the hearts of men; and the magnetic glance, attracting the best, strongest, and most enlightened of their number.

All the dukes, counts, and lords of his vast empire, in course of time thought of him, and felt for him, as their loved and rightful lord; the whole hierarchy, from the pope to the village priest, revered and loved him with unparalleled devotion, and cheerfully accorded to him an exceptional position.

He sat in judgment on the pope, preached to metropolitans, and instructed the whole Church in Canon Law. He was well versed in dogmatic theology, profoundly conversant with the rationale of ritual, impatient of perfunctory and mechanical worship. He had a just sense of the importance of cleansing the text of the Scriptures from unauthorized additions and corruptions, the temples of God made with hands from corrupt men, and the temples of God not made with hands, from the defilements of wickedness and vice.

The catalogue of his shining merits is not yet exhausted. He was idolized by his family, as the most affectionate and indulgent of parents. His conversation was delightful; he was witty, and the most versatile man at Court; he spoke Latin as he spoke German; read Greek; cultivated music and excelled in song; loved poetry; studied every law, animated by the desire of establishing a uniform system of law by conforming every body of laws, written or unwritten, to the Law of God.

His fame had spread throughout the world; the khalif at Bagdad, the Saracen emir at Cordova, the emperor at Constantinople, the kings of Britain and Denmark, together with semi-barbarous chieftains beyond the Eastern Marche, acknowledged his power and sought his friendship.

Depicted in the Annals and Capitularies, in the Epistles

he wrote and received, in the Minutes of Church Councils, in the Diplomas and Charters setting forth his benefactions, the character of Charles stands out clear and distinct. They portray him far better than the longest and most eloquent description could do. Recurring to these the reader may readily supply whatever defect, in his judgment, attaches to this sketch.

It is certainly not the least striking feature of his life that in almost all these respects he stood unexcelled for nearly half a century.

Looking from the more distant past of European history, all through the ages to the present century, and reading the long roll of illustrious potentates, only four names may be associated with the name of Charles.

Alexander of Macedon was a great conqueror, but his conquests were of little benefit to Europe; he neglected his native country, and left an empire destined to become the prey of barbarism. Julius Cæsar was a great conqueror, but his great and shining merits, which clearly stamp him as the greatest man in antiquity, conferred no lasting benefit on Rome—for after him came the emperors. Constantine was a great emperor and did good service to the Church by making Christianity the religion of the empire—but he tolerated paganism and was a superstitious man. Napoleon was a great conqueror, but his conquests, like his reign, were transitory, and neither beneficial to mankind at large, nor to his country in particular.

If three of these deserve the epithet "Great," who can withhold it from Charles? Weighing his character in a balance just and true, we cannot doubt the verdict. He shed much blood, and sometimes shed it cruelly; he did much wrong, especially in early life, and as we think, heartlessly and cruelly, but he lived it down; for these things he deserves censure, and the censure is not withheld. But the other points, enumerated in late paragraphs, in which he manifestly excelled and eclipsed the splendor of those names, do they not establish his greatness? If he does not deserve the epithet, who does?

In his life-time he did not bear it. It formed not part of his official title, but the whole world thought him great. His title is familiar to us and need not be repeated; but it interests us to know how his contemporaries spoke of him by name; they called him "Emperor" (*Imperator*), as betokening his personal and exclusive prerogative; "Charles" (*Karolus*), as betokening his baptismal name; "Frank" (*Francus*), as setting forth his race; and "Wise" (*Prudens*), as coming to him from abroad, that is, as we understand the passage, in recognition of his extraordinary sagacity.¹

When he died, and men felt his death, began to think of what he was and did, contrasted him with the men that succeeded him, and the *Raht* of his reign with the *Nasg*² of theirs, the nations of the earth with one accord, and as early as the middle of the ninth century, called him the "Great" Emperor.³

That judgment has never been and cannot be reversed. Charles the Great is unquestionably and incomparably the grandest name of the Middle Ages. His light still shines from afar; he is the father of modern civilization, of the common law of all the nations of Teutonic origin, and of other elements that enter into the political systems of the present.

We meet him everywhere, in letters, in poetry, in music and song, in architecture, and last, not least, in the fabled realms of legend and romance.

But by far the most touching proof of his greatness we find in the love he inspired. This is evident in almost every production of the Caroline age which has come down to us; over and above the official reverence due to his station, and the respect due to his attainments and merit, the most illustrious men of his age loved him as a man. It is the most striking characteristic of his biography, as writ by Einhard; it abounds on the pages of Hadrian and Leo, warms the measures of Theodulf and Angilbert, and overflows in the

¹ Smaragdus, II., 21 apud Mabillon, Vet. Anal. nov. ed. p. 358; cf. Annal. Bened. II., 408.

² See p. 493.

³ Nithard I., I, MG. SS., II., 651.

epistles of Alcuin, as a solitary extract may show. The epistle was written by the venerable man in old age, when infirmity tied him to Tours, on the occasion of the emperor's return from Rome after the Coronation.

"Day after day," he writes, "my heart did yearn for the glad tidings of the homeward journey, and in rapture my ear did catch the announcement of the return of my most sweet lord and friend David. . . ."

"At last they came and said: 'Albinus, now he cometh; 'now he has crossed the Alps, the friend thou so eagerly desirest to see.'"

"I could not contain myself for joy; again and again I cried: 'O Lord Jesus, why dost thou not give me the wings of an eagle, or takest me like the prophet Habaccuc for a day, or for an hour only to clasp and kiss the feet of my dearest friend, whom I prefer to all the world contains, fix my eyes on those of my sweetest friend, and let my ear drink up the music of his words.'"¹

This is not flattery, it is the impassioned language of a loving nature, certainly of one of the very best and purest men, of one of the finest scholars and brilliant thinkers of the age.

His language will not lose anything by the allusion to the miraculous capture of the prophet, as told in the apocryphal book, whom the angel of the Lord took by the crown, bare by the hair of his head, and through the vehemency of his Spirit, set down in Babylon over the den.²

Nor can one doubt that the nameless monk who in the monastic retirement of Bobbio on the Trebbia (probably founded by its sainted abbot Columbanus)³ heard the news of the death of Charles, was perfectly sincere in the touching tribute to his memory which sorrow wrung from his heart, and with which we close this history.

¹ Alcuini ep. 170, in Monumenta Alcuin. (Jaffé), p. 613.

² Bel and the Dragon, 36.

³ Died A. D. 615, and known as St. Columbanus since the eighth century.

FUNERAL CHANT.

From Orient far to Occidental shore
A dirge of sorrow smites the lab'ring breast :
O woe to me unfortunate !

The hosts beyond the sea afflicted moan
And with unmeasured grief molest their soul :
O woe to me unfortunate !

The Franks, the Romans, yea, believers all,
In doleful lamentation's chain are bound :
O woe to me unfortunate !

The young and old alike, the honor'd chiefs
And matrons, all lament their Cæsar's loss :
O woe to me unfortunate !

Incessant flow the streams from human eyes,
For all the world laments the death of Charles :
O woe to me unfortunate !

O common Father, of Thine orphan'd hosts,
Of ev'ry stranger, widow, maiden pure :
O woe to me unfortunate !

O Christ, Whose sceptre sways the realms above,
Within Thy Kingdom there give rest to Charles :
O woe to me unfortunate !

Thus all believers pray, Thy faithful flock,
The saints and elders, maids, and widows true :
O woe to me unfortunate !

An earthy mound, with title set, is rais'd
Above the Emperor Charles Serene :
O woe to me unfortunate !

O Holy Spirit, Who dost all things rule,
Exalt, we instant pray, his soul to rest :
O woe to me unfortunate !

Ah, woe to Rome, and to the Romans woe,
For snatch'd away is our most glorious Charles :
O woe to me unfortunate !

Such dreadful griefs, as France has borne, are light
In presence of the grief she did sustain :
O woe to me unfortunate !

When on the Aquisgranian glebe she gave
To earth her eloquent Augustus Charles :
O woe to me unfortunate !

That night to me but fearful dreams rehearsed,
And day succeeding brought not cheerful ray :
O woe to me unfortunate !

Which to the gloomy shades of death conveyed
The noble prince to Christendom so dear :
O woe to me unfortunate !

O Columbanus, stay the briny flood,
And offer prayers for him to God the Lord :
O woe to me unfortunate !

O Father, Lord most merciful to all,
A shining place to him, we pray, accord :
O woe to me unfortunate !

O God, the Lord of all the human race,
Of all the hosts on high, and underneath :
O woe to me unfortunate !

With Thine apostles all, O Christ, receive
The pious Charles within Thy sacred throne :
O woe to me unfortunate !

I have translated the text of Muratori, *Rer. Ital.*, II., 2, p. 690, as given in *Illustrative Extracts*, Appendix I. The dirge was composed either immediately, or very soon after the death of Charles. See Dümmler's Introduction to the *Rythmus*, in *Poetae Lat.* aev. med. I., 2, p. 435. The text with a specimen of the musical notation of the dirge is given by Coussemaker, *Histoire de l'Harmonie*, p. 91. For an early text see Thietmar, VIII., 15, in *MG. SS.*, III., 870.

APPENDIX.

APPENDIX.

APPENDIX A.

DEPOSITION OF CHILDERIC AND CORONATION OF PEPIN.

"Anno 750 inc. domin. mittit Pippinus legatos Romam ad Zachariam papam, ut interrogarent de regibus Francorum, qui ex stirpe regia erant et reges appellabantur, nullamque potestatem in regno habebant, nisi tantum quod cartae et privilegia in nomine eorum conscribebantur, potestatem vero regiam penitus nullam habebant, sed quod maior domus Francorum volebat, hoc faciebant; in die autem Martis campo secundum antiquam consuetudinem dona illis regibus a populo offerebantur, et ipse rex sedebat in sella regia circumstante exercitu, et maior domus coram eo, praecipiebatque die illo quicquid a Francis decretum erat; die vero alia et deinceps domi sedebat. Zacharias igitur papa secundum auctoritatem apostolicam ad interrogationem eorum respondit, melius atque utilius sibi videri, ut ille rex nominaretur et esset, qui potestatem in regno habebat, quam ille, qui falso rex appellabatur. Mandavit itaque praefatus pontifex regi et populo Francorum, ut Pippinus qui potestate regia utebatur, rex appellaretur, et in sede regali constitueretur. Quod ita et factum est per unctionem sancti Bonifatii archiepiscopi Suessionis civitate. Appellatur Pippinus rex, et Hildricus qui falso rex appellabatur, tonsoratus in monasterium mittitur."

Pertz, Mon. Germ. SS. I., p. 116. Annales Lauriss. Minores.

"749. Burghardus Wirceburgensis episcopus et Folradus capellanus missi fuerunt ad Zachariam papam interrogando de regibus in Francia, qui illis temporibus non habentes regalem potestatem, si bene fuisset, an non. Et Zacharias papa mandavit Pippino, ut melius esset illum regem vocari, qui potestatem haberet, quam illum, qui sine regali potestate manebat; ut non conturbaretur ordo, per auctoritatem apostolicam iussit Pippinum regem fieri."

"750. Pippinus secundum morem Francorum electus est ad regem, et unctus per manum sanctae memoriae Bonifacii archiepiscopi, et elevatus a Francis in regno in Suessionis civitate. Hildericus vero, qui falsus rex vocabatur, tonsoratus est, et in monasterium missus" *

* [in Sithiu monasterium missus. Pippinus, monente sancto Bonifacio, quibusdam episcopatibus vel medietas vel tertias rerum, . . . promittens in postmodum omnia restituere 9.]—Pertz.

Ibid. p. 137 sq.

See also Enhardi Fuldens. Annal. a. 751, 752, apud Pertz, *l. c.*, p. 346, and Annalista Saxo, apud Eccard, *Corpus Hist. Med. Aevi*, I., 138 sq.

APPENDIX B.

"PATRICIUS," PATRICIAN.

The authorities on the title and powers of a Roman *patricius* may be collected from Ducange, *Gloss. Latin.*, tom. V., pp. 149-151; Pagi, *Critica* A. D. 740, Nos. 6-11; Muratori, *Annali d'Italia*, tom. VI., pp. 308-329; St. Marc, *Abrégé Chronologique d'Italie*, tom. I., pp. 379-382. The subjoined passages, from Ducange, seem to express the sense in which the word was generally construed by contemporary writers.

The Epistles, Nos. 4, 7, 8, 9, 41, 42, 45, 47, etc., in the *Codex Carolinus* are addressed thus: "Dominis excellentissimis Pippino, Carolo, et Carolomanno Regibus, et nostris Romanorum Patriciis."

"Ibi venit ad eum Missus D. Adrianæ Papæ nomine Petrus, obnixè postulans, et ut populum Romanum de manibus superbi Regis Desiderii liberaret, adjungens, quod ipse legitimus tutor et defensor esset ipsius ecclesiæ, quoniam illud prædecessor suus sanctæ memoriæ Stephanus Papa unctione sacra liniens, in Regem ac Patricium Romanorum ordinavit."—*Annales Francor. Metens.* an. 773.

"Idem exerte docet Gregor. Mon. in *Chronic. Farfensi* apud Murator. to. II., p. 2, col. 640, ubi scribit: Italiam totam semper habuisse imperatorios procuratores, rectores, Patricios, exarchos, et duces qui imperatoris jura et reipublicæ potentissime possidentes defenderent, dominiumque Italicum obtinerent, usque ad tempora Pipini Regis Francorum, quem Stephanus Papa II. apud Parisium coronavit et unxit cum duobus filiis suis circa annum Dominicæ Incarnationis DCCLIV."

APPENDIX C.

GRANT OF PEPIN.

The authorities for the grant are: Sigonius, *De regno Italiae*, lib. III., p. 202, tom. II. opp. Bunau, *Historia Imperii Germanici*, tom. II., pp. 301-366. Muratori, *Annali d'Italiae*, tom. IV., p. 310.

"The real limits of the Exarchate, granted by Pepin to the Roman pontiff, have been much controverted among the learned, and have, particularly in our times, employed the researches of several eminent writers. The bishops of Rome extend the limits of the exarchate as far as they can with any appearance of decency or probability; while their adversaries are as zealous in contracting this famous grant within narrower bounds. See Muratori, *Droits de l'Empire sur l'État Ecclésiastique*, cap. I., II.; also his *Antiquitat. Ital. Mediæ Aevi*, tom. I., pp. 64, 68, 986, 987. The same author treats the matter with more circumspection, tom. V., p. 790. This controversy can only be terminated with facility by an inspection of Pepin's grant of the territory in question.

"Fontanini in his *First defence of the temporal jurisdiction of the see of Rome over the city of Comachio*, written in Italian, intimates that this grant is still in being, and even makes use of some phrases that are contained in it; see pp. 242, 346 of that work. This, however, will scarcely be believed. Were it

indeed true that such a deed is yet in being, its being published to the world would be, undoubtedly, unfavorable to the pretensions and interests of the Church of Rome.

"It is at least certain that in the recent disputes between the Emperor Joseph and the Roman pontiff, concerning the city of Comachio, the partisans of the latter, though frequently called upon by those of the emperor to produce this grant, refused constantly to comply with this demand.

"On the other hand it must be confessed, that Blanchinus, in his 'Prolegom. ad Anastasium de vitis pontif. Roman.' p. 55, has given us from a Farnesian manuscript, a specimen of this grant, which seems to carry the marks of remote antiquity.

"Be that as it may, a multitude of witnesses unite in assuring us, that the remorse of a wounded conscience was the source of Pepin's liberality, and that this grant to the Roman pontiff was the superstitious remedy by which he hoped to expiate his enormities, and particularly his horrid perfidy to his master Childeric." Mosheim, *Ecclesiastical History*, vol. I. cent. VIII., pt. II., ch. VIII., note 1.

It is proper to add the testimony of the pope's own letters to Pepin in which he distinctly and explicitly adduces the grant as written under the king's own handwriting.

"Decertate bonum opus quod coepistis, et quæ per donationem manu vestra confirmastis, Protectori vestro B. Petro reddere festinate.—Sciatis enim quia *Chirographum* vestram donationem Princeps Apostolorum firmiter tenet, et necesse est, ut ipsum *Chirographum* expleatis."—Ep. Steph. ad Pip. Carol. et Carolom., Cod. Carol. IX. apud Censi, *Monum. Dominat. Pontific.*, tom. I., p. 82.

APPENDIX D.

TABLE OF ALCUIN'S EPISTLES TO CHARLES.¹

| No. | DATE. | SUBJECT. |
|---------|-------|---|
| XIV. | 793 | On the transfiguration of Christ. |
| XXVIII. | 796 | Alcuin congratulates Charles on the Avar victory, advising: |

¹ This table follows the numeration of Frobenius, and the analysis of Guizot, *Histoire de la Civilisation en France*, vol. II., 189 sqq.

It may be advantageously compared with the best edition of Alcuin's letters, entitled *Monumenta Alcuiniana*,

being vol. VI. of *Bibliotheca Rerum Germanicarum*.

According to the latest recognition 306 of Alcuin's letters have been published.

The last five of this table, with Arabic numerals, correspond to the order of *Monum. Alcuin*.

| No. | DATE. | SUBJECT. |
|----------|-------|---|
| XXVIII. | 796 | <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. The sending of gentle missionaries to the conquered people. 2. Suspension of tithes, saying, "it is better to lose tithes than faith; even we, born, trained, and instructed in the Catholic faith are loth to pay them. How much greater must be the repugnance of a people of nascent faith, feebleness of heart, and parsimonious habits!" 3. A fixed order of religious instruction. "Begin with teaching the immortality of the soul; future life; just recompense to the good and the evil; the eternity of such retribution; that crimes and sins entail eternal punishment with the devil, but virtues and good works conduce to eternal glory with Christ; inculcate faith in the Holy Trinity, and that Christ came into the world to save the family of man." |
| XXXII. | 796 | Alcuin recommends Charles to show forbearance to the Avars, and mercy to his enemies. |
| XXXVIII. | 796 | Alcuin explains his work in the Abbey School at Tours. "I, your Flaccus, agreeably to your exhortation and wise decision, am dispensing, under the roof of St. Martin, to some the honey of the Holy Scriptures, endeavoring to inform the mind of others with the old wine of the classics; some I nourish with the fruit of grammar, others I seek to dazzle with the splendor of the stars. . . . But I sadly miss the best works on education, which, thanks to my master's excellent care and through my own effort, used to be at my service in my own country, submitting to your majesty the propriety of your authorizing the departure of some of our servants to Britain for the purpose of securing for our benefit the bloom of her letters. . . . In the morning of my life I scattered there the seeds of knowledge, which at its eve, although my blood is growing cool, I cease not to sow in Francia, trusting that through the blessing of God the good seed may spring up and thrive in both lands." |
| LXI. | 797 | Explanation of the lunar cycle. |

| No. | DATE. | SUBJECT. |
|---------|-------|--|
| LXIV. | 798 | Recommendation of certain individuals. |
| LXV. | " | Explanation of the origin of the words Septuagesima and Sexagesima. [Letter LXVI. contains the king's objections.] |
| LXVII. | " | Reconsideration of the same topic, and a disclaimer of obstinacy. "As to what you say near the close of your epistle, in a friendly spirit and for my benefit, that, if in my opinion reform is necessary, I should make it in humility, I beg to reply that by divine grace, I have never been obstinate in error, or confident in opinion; I can readily adapt myself to better advice, for I remember the saying that it is better to use our ears than our tongue. Please therefore in your wisdom to remember, that I write less to a disciple than to a judge, and state my humble notions not to one deficient in knowledge, but to one qualified to reform." |
| LXVIII. | 797 | On the solar course, the phases of the year, and the heresy of Felix, bishop of Urgel. |
| LXIX. | 798 | On astronomy and chronology, with answers to the questions of a lady, probably Gisla, the sister of Charles. |
| LXX. | " | On astronomy, answering questions on the solar course, constellations, etc. |
| LXXI. | " | On the same subject. |
| LXXX. | 799 | On public affairs. — |
| LXXXI. | " | Apology, on account of ill health, for not accompanying Charles to Rome. |
| LXXXIV. | 800 | Complimentary, and astronomical calculations. |
| LXXXV. | " | Alcuin thanks Charles for reading his treatise against bishop Felix, and sends examples of orthography and arithmetic. |
| XC. | " | Alcuin condoles with Charles on the death of Liutgard (?), and sends a brief epitaph, or pious wish: "Semper in aeternum vivat feliciter, opto, Filia cara mihi; sit, rogo, cara Deo." |
| XCI. | " | On the same subject. |
| XCIII. | " | Alcuin congratulates Charles on his victories; exhorts him to clemency; adverts to the health of Pope Leo; apologizes for remissness in writing; and declines going to Rome. |
| CIII. | 801 | Alcuin having long tried sending Charles a pres- |

| No. | DATE. | SUBJECT. |
|------|-------|--|
| | | ent worthy of his eminent station and expressive of his affection, begs his acceptance of a copy of the Holy Scriptures revised by himself. ¹ |
| CIV. | 801 | Alcuin rejoices in the emperor's safe return from Italy. |
| CV. | " | Regrets that old age prevents his going to Court. Alcuin deplores the death of Magenfried; recommends the building of a church; ² and warns Charles against the dangers of the Beneventan expedition. |
| | | "My affection for you may seem foolish, but none can charge me with disloyalty in great things or small, and my confidence in your approved humility emboldens me to write as I do. Some one may ask, 'why does he meddle with things outside his province?' Such an one does not know that I consider nothing concerning your welfare to lie outside my province, deeming that welfare higher than my own health, or the term of my life. Thou art the happiness of the realm, the salvation of the people, the ornament of the Church, the protector of all believers in Christ. Under the shadow of thy power and the shelter of thy piety, God has graciously granted us to lead the religious |

¹ This is probably the exquisite MS. of a *Codex Evangeliorum*, formerly at Prüm, now at Treves, containing, after the Generation of Christ, the following metrical inscription:

"Suscipe, rex, parvum magni modo munus amoris,
Quod tuus Albinus obtulit ecce tibi.
Magna ferunt secli gazarum dona potentes,
Fert mea pauperies ista minuta duo,*
Ne vacua in sacris venisset dextra diebus
Ante piam faciem, rex venerande, tuam.
Nomina sanctorum signavi sancta parentum
Hæbreæ depromens ore, Latine, tuo.
Fer mea, carta mea, supplex munuscula domno,
Corpore premodico viscera magna gerens."

* Cf. Luc. XXI., 2.

Cf. Pertz, *Archiv für ältere deutsche Geschichtskunde*, VII., 159; Frobenius I., 456.—Dümmeler.

² Not at Benevento, but at Tours.—Dümmeler, *l. c.*, p. 584.

| No. | DATE. | SUBJECT. |
|---------|------------|--|
| CV. | 801 | life, and in tranquil peace serve Jesus Christ; wherefore it is meet, and essential to my happiness, that I should intently and with sincere cordiality, follow thy course, take the warmest interest in thy welfare, and pray God to bless King David, most beloved, and most worthy of all honor." |
| CVI. | " | Alcuin thanks Charles for his kindness, entreating his permission to remain at St. Martin's. |
| CXCV. | 802-803 | Alcuin apologizes for himself and the brothers of St. Martin in having accorded asylum to a clerk of the church of Orleans, and thereby occasioned trouble, as well as displeasure to Charles and Theodulf. |
| CXXIII. | Uncertain. | Alcuin answers the king's inquiry on the difference between <i>æternum</i> and <i>sempiternum</i> ; <i>perpetuum</i> and <i>immortale</i> ; <i>saeculum</i> , <i>ævum</i> , and <i>tempus</i> . |
| CXXIV. | " | Alcuin answers certain questions of Charles on passages in the Gospels. |
| CXXV. | " | Alcuin explains why the hymn, which Christ is said to have sung after the Holy Supper, is not of record in the Gospels. |
| CXXVI. | " | Alcuin answers the king's question, propounded in the name of a learned Greek, "who received the price of redemption?" |
| CXXVII. | " | Alcuin's advice under the title of <i>capitula</i> concerning testaments, successions, etc. |
| 142 | 800 | Alcuin leaves the decision of the publication of his treatise against Felix, bishop of Urgel, with Charles. |
| " | " | Alcuin names the authorities he followed in the said treatise. |
| 170 | 801 | Alcuin sends Candidus to meet Charles on his return from Italy, stating that though in better health he should prefer remaining at Tours. |
| 238 | 801-804 | Alcuin answers the emperor's question of the meaning of the two swords; submits the propriety of an imperial inhibition of bishops suspending presbyters from preaching, and an injunction preventing the desecration of altars. |
| 239 | 801-804 | Alcuin dedicates his Book on the Life and Miracles of St. Richarius, Confessor, to Charles. |

APPENDIX E.

TABLE OF THE WINDS.

Charles divided the heavens into twelve regions, giving to the winds blowing from them appropriate names. The table exhibits in the first column the Roman names of the winds, in the second those invented by Charles, and in the last the corresponding cardinal points of the Mariner's Compass.

| Roman Names. | Caroline Names. | Mariner's Compass. |
|-----------------|-----------------|--------------------|
| SEPTENTRIO. | NORDRONI. | NORTH. |
| Aquilo. | Nordostroni. | |
| Voltumnus. | Ostnordroni. | |
| SUBSOLANUS. | OSTRONI. | EAST. |
| Eurus. | Ostsundroni. | |
| Euro-Auster. | Sundostroni. | |
| AUSTER. | SUNDRONI. | SOUTH. |
| Austro-Africus. | Sundwestroni. | |
| Africus. | Westundroni. | |
| ZEPHYRUS. | WESTRONI. | WEST. |
| Caurus. | Westnordroni. | |
| Circius. | Nordwestroni. | |

APPENDIX F.

LIST OF THE MONTHS.

Charles called :

| | |
|---|--|
| January, <i>Wintermanoth</i> , | that is, winter month ; |
| February, <i>Hornunc</i> , | " the month in which stags shed their horns ; |
| March, <i>Lenzinmanoth</i> , | " Lent month ; |
| April, <i>Ostermanoth</i> , | " Easter month ; |
| May, <i>Winnemanoth</i> , | " pasture month ; ¹ |
| June, <i>Brachmanoth</i> , | " the month in which the ground breaks open ; |
| July, <i>Hewimanoth</i> , | " hay month ; |
| August, <i>Aranmanoth</i> , | " earing month ; |
| September, <i>Witumanoth</i> , or <i>Widemanoth</i> , | " either the month in which cattle is sent to pasture on the second crop, or the month in which the hunt begins ; the old German <i>wide</i> allows both meanings. |
| October, <i>Windumemanoth</i> , | " vintage month ; |
| November, <i>Herbistmanoth</i> , | " autumn, or harvest month ; |
| December, <i>Heilagmanoth</i> , | " holy month. |

¹ Or, if the variation Wunnimanoth is preferred, the month of delight, for *wunni* = *wonne* is, delight. Compare on the variation in the spelling, Teulet, *l. c.*, whose list is exhaustive.

APPENDIX G.

LIST OF CAPITULARIES SET FORTH IN THE REIGN OF CHARLES THE GREAT.

KAROLI MAGNI CAPITULARIA.

| No. | TITLE. | DATE. | No. OF CAP. |
|-----|--|-----------------|-------------|
| 1. | Karoli M. Capitulare primum. | circa. 769. | 18. |
| 2. | Capitulare Heristallense. | 779, March. | 23. |
| 3. | Capitulare Episcoporum. | 780 ? | 1. |
| 4. | Admonitio Generalis. | 789, March. | 82. |
| 5. | Duplex Legationis Edictum. | " " 23. | 37. |
| 6. | Breviarium Missorum Aquitanicum. | " | 18. |
| 7. | Capitulare Missorum. | 792 or 786. | 6. |
| 8. | Capitulatio de partibus Saxoniae. | 775-790. | 34. |
| 9. | Capitulare Saxonicum. | 797, Oct. 28. | 11. |
| 10. | Synodus Franconofurtensis. | 794, June. | 56. |
| 11. | Karoli epistola de litteris colendis. | 780-800. | 1. |
| 12. | Karoli epistola Generalis. | 786-800. | 1. |
| 13. | Capitulum in pago Cenomannico datum. | 800. | 1. |
| 14. | Capitulare de Villis. | 800 or before ? | 70. |
| 15. | Capitulare Missorum Generale. | 802, early. | 40. |
| 16. | Capitulare Missorum Speciale. | 802, " | 19. |
| 17. | Capitulare Missorum item Speciale. | 802 ? | 59. |
| | Synodus et conventus exeunte anno 802 Aquisgrani habita. | | |
| | 18. Capitula a sacerdotibus proposita. | 802, Oct. ? | 22. |
| | 19. Capitula ad lectionem canonum et regulae S. Benedicti pertinentia. | 802, Oct. ? | 24. |
| | 20. Capitula de examinandis ecclesiasticis. | 802, Oct. ? | 17. |
| | 21. Capitulare legibus additum. | 803. | 11. |
| | 22. Capitulare Missorum. | 803. | 29. |
| | 23. Capitulare legi Ribuarie additum. | 803. | 12. |
| 24. | Capitula ecclesiastica ad Salz data. | 803-804. | 8. |
| | Duplex Capitulare Missorum in Theodonis villi datum. | 805, late. | |
| | 25. Capit. Missor. in Theod. villa dat., primum, mere ecclesiasticum. | | 16. |
| | 26. Capit. Missor. in Theod. villa dat., secundum, generale. | | 22. |
| 27. | Divisio Regnorum. | 806, Feb. 6. | 20. |
| 28. | Capitulare Missorum Niumagae datum. | 806, March. | 18. |
| 29. | Capitula excerpta de canone. | 806, later ? | 23. |
| 30. | Memoratorium de exercitu in Gallia occidentale praeparando. | 807, early. | 3. |

| No. | TITLE. | DATE. | No. OF CAP. |
|-----|--|--------------------------|-------------------|
| 31. | Capitula de causis diversis. | 807? | 4. |
| 32. | Capitulare Missorum de exercitu promovendo. | 808, early. | 9. |
| 33. | Capitula cum primis conferenda. | 808. | 13. |
| 34. | Capitula cum primis constituta. | 808. | 7. |
| 35. | Capitula Missorum. | 808. | 10. |
| 36. | Capitula per episcopos et comites nota facienda. | 805-808. | 6. |
| 37. | Capitula post a. 805 addita. | 806-813. | 3. |
| 38. | Capitula Karoli Magni. | 803-813. | 4. |
| 39. | Capitula omnibus cognita facienda. | { 801-814. { 801-806? | 7. |
| 40. | Responsa Misso cuidam data. | 801-814? | 8. |
| 41. | Capitula a Misso cognita facta. | 803-813. | 13. |
| 42. | Capitulare Missorum. | 802-813. | 4. |
| 43. | Capitulare Aquisgranense. | 809. | 14. |
| 44. | " Missorum Aquisgranense primum. | 809. | 29. |
| 45. | " " " alterum. | 809. | 13. |
| 46. | " " " primum. | 810. | 20. |
| 47. | " " " secundum. | 810. | 16. |
| 48. | Capitula de Missorum officiis. | 810. | 5. |
| 49. | Capitula per Missos cognita facienda. | 803-813. | 6. |
| 50. | Capitula ad legem Baiwariorum addita. | 801-813. | 7. |
| 51. | Capitulare Baiwaricum. | 810, circa. | 9. |
| 52. | Capitula Karoli apud Ansegisum servata. | 810, 811? | 6. |
| 53. | Capitula tractanda cum comitibus, episcopis et abbatibus. | 811. | 13. |
| 54. | Capitula de causis cum episcopis, et abbatibus tractandis. | 811. | 13. |
| 55. | Capitula de rebus exercitalibus in placito tractanda. | 811. | 10. |
| 56. | Capitulare Bononiense. | 811, Oct. | 11. |
| 57. | Karoli ad Fulradum abbatem epistola. | 804-811. | 1. |
| 58. | Praeceptum pro Hispanis. | 812, April 2. | 1. |
| 59. | Capitulare Aquisgranense. | 801-813. | 20. |
| 60. | Capitula e canonibus excerpta. | 813. | 26. |
| 61. | Capitula originis incertae. | 813, or later. | 4. |
| 62. | Capitulare de iusticiis faciendis. | 811-813. | 13. |
| 63. | Capitula ecclesiastica. | 810-813? | 20. |
| 64. | Capitulare Karoli M. de latronibus. | 804-813. | 9. |
| 65. | Capitula Missorum. | 813? | 9. |
| 66. | Capitula vel Missorum vel synodalia. | 813? | 14. |
| 67. | Capitula a Missis Dominicis ad comites directa. | 801-813. | 7. |
| 68. | Capitula incerti anni. | 789-814? | 5. |
| 69. | Capitula de rebus ecclesiasticis. | 787-813? | 4. |

| No. | TITLE. | DATE. | No. OF CAP. |
|-----|--|----------------------|-------------------|
| | KAROLI MAGNI ET PIPPINI FILII CAPITULARIA ITALICA. | | |
| 70. | Karoli Magni notitia Italica. | 776 or 781, Feb. 20. | 4. |
| 71. | Capitulare cum episcopis Langobardicis deliberatum. | 780-790 circa. | 10. |
| 72. | Capitulare Mantuanum. | 781? | 13. |
| 73. | Pippini Italiae regis Capitulare. | 782-786. | 10. |
| 74. | Capitulare Mantuanum primum, mere ecclesiasticum. | 787, early? | 11. |
| 75. | Capitulare Mantuanum secundum, generale. | 787, early? | 8. |
| 76. | Pippini Capitulare Papiense. | 787, Oct. | 14. |
| 77. | Pippini Capitulare. | 790, circa. | 17. |
| 78. | Capitula cum Italiae episcopis deliberata. | 790-800? | 6. |
| 79. | Karoli epistola in Italiam emissa. | 790-800. | 1. |
| 80. | Capitulare Italicum. | 801. | 8. |
| 81. | Karoli M. Capitulare Missorum Italicum. | 781-810. | 13. |
| 82. | Pippini Italiae regis Capitulare. | 800-810? | 4. |
| 83. | Karoli Capitulare Italicum. | 790-810? | 3. |
| 84. | Pippini Capitulare Italicum. | 801 (806?) - 810. | 20. |
| 85. | Karoli ad Pippinum filium Epistola. | 806-810. | 1. |
| | CAPITULA SINGILLATIM TRADITA KAROLO MAGNO ADSRIPTA. | | |
| 86. | Capitula Francia. | 779-813? | 8. |
| 87. | Capitula Italica. | 779-813? | 22. |
| | ADDITAMENTA AD PIPPINI ET KAROLI M. CAPITULARIA. | | |
| 88. | Nomina episcoporum et abbatum Attiniaci congregatum. | 760-762. | |
| 89. | Interrogationes et responsiones baptismales. | | |
| 90. | Indiculus superstitionum et paganiarum. | | 30. |
| 91. | Precatio franconica. | | |
| 92. | Summula de bannis. | | 8. |
| 93. | Memoratorium Missis datum ad papam Adrianum legatis. | 785? | 9. |
| 94. | Statuta Rhispacensia, Frisingensia, Salisburgensia. | 799, 800. | 47. |
| 95. | Capitula excerpta canonica. | | 7. |
| 96. | Capitula e conciliorum canonibus collecta. | | 5. |
| 97. | Indiculus obsidum Saxonum Moguntiam deducendorum. | | |

| No. | TITLE. | DATE. | No. OF CAP. |
|------|--|-------------|-------------------|
| 98. | Interrogationes examinationis. | | 15. |
| 99. | Quae a presbyteris discenda sint. | | 6. |
| 100. | Quibus de rebus in synodo quadam provinciali tractandum sit. | | 12. |
| 101. | Capitula in dioecisana quadam synodo tractata. | | 9. |
| 102. | Capitula de presbyteris admonendis. | | |
| 103. | Missi cuiusdam admonitio. | 801-812. | |
| 104. | Karoli M. ad Ghaerbald. episc. Leodiens. epistola, et Ghaerbaldi ad dioeceseos suae presbyt. Epistola. | 803-810. | |
| 105. | Ghaerbaldi Leodicensis episcopi capitula. | 802-810. | 20. |
| 106. | Karoli ad Ghaerbaldum Episcopum epistola. | 807, Nov. | |
| 107. | Karoli M. ad Odilbertum epistola. | 809-812. | |
| 108. | Odilberti ad Karolum M. responsum. | 809-812. | |
| 109. | Rihcolfi archiep. ad Eginonem epistola. | 810. | |
| 110. | Brevium exempla ad describendas res ecclesiasticas et fiscales. | 810, circa. | 39. |
| 111. | Iudicatum regium. | | 1. |
| 112. | Capitula duo incerta. | | 2. |
| 113. | Capitula de Iudaeis. | | 6. |

Alfredus Boretius, *Capitularia Regum Francorum*, t. I. in *Monum. Germ. Historica*.

APPENDIX H.

RYTHMUS IN OBITUM CAROLI MAGNI AUGUSTI.¹

* Muratori, *Rerum Italicarum*, tom. II., pars 2, p. 690.

A Solis ortu usque ad Occidua litora maris plactus pulsata pectora : heu mihi misero.
 Ultra marina agmina tristitia tetigit ingens cum moerore nimio : heu mihi misero.
 Franci, Romani, adque cuncti creduli luctu punguntur & magna molestia : heu mihi misero.
 Infantes, senes, gloriosi Praesules, Matronae plangunt detrimentum Caesaris : heu mihi misero.
 Jam non² cessant lacrymarum flumina : plangit Orbis interitum Caroli : heu mihi misero.
 Pater communis orfanorum omnium, peregrinorum, viduarum, virginum : heu mihi misero.
 Christe, coelorum qui gubernas agmina, tuo in regno da requiem Carolo : heu mihi misero.
 Hoc poscunt omnes fideles & creduli : hoc Sancti, senes, viduae, & virgines : heu mihi misero.
 Imperatorem jam serenum Carolum telluris tetigit titulus tumulus : heu mihi misero.
 Spiritus Sanctus, qui gubernat omnia, animam suam exultat in requiem : heu mihi misero.
 Vae tibi Roma, Romanoque Populo, amisso summo glorioso Carolo : heu mihi misero.
 Vae tibi sola formosa Italia, cunctisque tuis tam honestibus Urbibus : heu mihi misero.
 Francia diras perpessa injurias nullum jam talem dolorem sustinuit : heu mihi misero.
 Quando Augustum facundumque Carolum in Aquisgrani glebe³ terrae tradidit : heu mihi misero.
 Nox mihi dira retulit somnia, diesque clara non adduxit lumina : heu mihi misero.
 Quae cuncti orbis Christiano Populo vexit ad mortem venerandum Principem : heu mihi misero.
 O Columbane, stringe tuas lacrymas, precesque funde pro illo ad Dominum : heu mihi misero.
 Pater cunctorum misericors Dominus, ut illi donet locum splendidissimum : heu mihi misero.
 O Deus cunctae humanae, militiaeque⁴ Coelorum, Infernorum Domine : heu mihi misero.
 In Sancta Sede cum tuis Apostolis suscipe plium o tu Christe Carolum : heu mihi misero.

¹ The author of this *rythmus* was neither Columbanus, abbot of Trudo (Bonquet), nor St. Columbanus, abbot of Bobbio, who died 615, but a monk of that monastery.—See Dümmler, *I. c.*, t. I., pt. 2, p. 435.

² jamjam² D.

³ glebis D.

⁴ atque D.

APPENDIX I.

Illustrative Extracts.

I. THE FAMILY OF CHARLES.

65. Janna pandatur, multisque volentibus intrent
 Pauci, quos sursum quilibet ordo tulit.
 Circumdet pulchrum proles carissima regem,
 Omnibus emineat, sol ut in arce solet.
 Hinc adstent pueri, circumstent inde puellae,
 Vineae laetificet sicque novella patrem.
 Stent Karolus, Hludowicque simul, quorum unus ephebus,
 Iam vehit alterius os iuvenale decus.
 Corpora praevalido quibus est nervosa inventa,
 Corque capax studii, consiliique tenax.
 Mente vigent, virtute cluunt, pietate redundant,
 Gentis uterque decor, dulcis uterque patri.
 Et nunc ardentes acies—rex flectat ad illos,
 Nunc ad virgineum flectat utrimque chorum,
 Virgineum ad coetum, quo non est pulchrior alter,
 Veste, habitu, specie, corpore, corde, fide.
 Scilicet ad Bertram et Chodthrudh, ubi sit quoque Gisla—
 82. Pulchrarum una, soror, sit minor ordo trium.
91. Prompta sit obsequio soboles gratissima regis
 Utque magis placeat, certet amore pio.
 Pallia dupla celer, manuum seu tegmina blanda
 Suscipiat Carolus, et gladium Ludoich.
 Quo residente, suum grata inter basia munus
 Dent natae egregiae, det quoque carus amor
 Berta rosas, Chrodtrudh violas dat, lilia Gisla,
 Nectaris ambrosii praemia quaeque ferat ;
 99. Rothaidh poma, Hiltrudh Cererem, Tetrada Liaeum,
 Quis varia species, sed decor unus inest.
 Ista nitet gemmis, auro illa splendet et ostro,
 Haec gemma viridi praenitet, illa rubra.
 Fibula componit hanc, illam limbus adornat,
 Armillae hanc ornant, hancque monile decet.
 Huic ferruginea est, apta huic quoque lutea vestis,
 Lacteolum strophium haec vehit, illa rubrum.
 Dulcibus haec verbis faveat regi, altera risu,
 Ista patrem gressu mulceat, illa ioco.
 Quod si forte soror fuerit sanctissima regis
 Oscula det fratri dulcia, frater ei.
 Talia sic placido moderetur gaudia vultu,
 112. Ut sponsi aeterni gaudia mente gerat. . . .

A. 796. Theodulfi Carmina, Dümmler, MG. Poetae Lat. aevi Carolini, I.,
 2, p. 485 sq.

II. THE FAMILY OF CHARLES.

210. Cornua rauca sonant, avido latratibus auras
 Complent ore canes, fragor ignea sidera pulsat.
 Inde puellarum sequitur mox ordo coruscus ;
 Rhodrud ante alias rapidoque invecta puellas
 Fulget equo et placidum prior occupat ordine gressum.
 Immixta est niveis ametistina vitta capillis,
 Ordinibus variis gemmarum luce coruscans ;
 Namque corona caput pretiosis aurea gemmis
 Implicat et pulchrum subrectit fibula amictum.
 Virgineos interque choros turbamque sequentem
 220. Proxima Berta nitet, multis sociata puellis.
 Voce, virili animo, habitu vultuque corusco,
 Os, mores, oculos imitantia pectora patris
 Fert ; caput aurato diademate cingitur almum.
 Aurea se niveis commiscunt fila capillis ;
 Lactea quippe ferunt pretiosam colla murinam.
 Ornatur vestis variis speciosa capillis
 Ordine, gemmarum numerosa luce coruscat
 Bratea, crysolitis ornantur tegmina gemmis.
 229. Gisala post istas sequitur candore coruscans ;
 Virgineo comitata choro, micat aurea proles.
 Tecta melocineo fulgescit femina amicta,
 Mollia purpureis rutilant velamina filis,
 Vox, facies, crines radianti luce coruscant.
 Splendida colla nitent roseo inflammata rubore,
 Argenta stat facta manus, frons aurea fulget,
 Et magnum vincunt oculorum lumina Phoebum.
 Laeta super rapidum conscendit caballum ;
 Frena superbus equus spumantia dente volutat.
 Hinc comitata viris, illinc stipata puellis
 Innumeris circum, circumstrepit agmen equorum.
 His cumulata bonis praeelsa solaria linquens,
 Virgo pudica pii sequitur vestigia regis.
 243. Rhodhaid inde micat multis ornata metallis ;
 Agmen ovans rapido praecedat femina gressu.
 Pectora, colla, comae lucent variata lapillis,
 Serica et ex humeris dependent pallia pulchris :
 Inseritur capiti nitido gemmata corona ;
 Stringit acus clamidem gemmatis aurea bullis.
 Pulchra vehetur equo Rhodhaidis virgo superbo,
 Quo latitare solent hirsuto tergo cervi.
 251. Interea egreditur vultu Theodrada corusco,
 Fronte venusta nitens et cedit crinibus aurum ;
 Pulchra peregrinis conlucent colla zmaracdis,
 Pes, manus, ora, genae, cervix radiata nitescit.

Clara serenatis fulgescunt lumina flammis,
 Pallia permixtis lucent iachytina talpis,
 Clara Sophocleaque ornatur virgo coturno.
 Turba puellarum circumstrepit agmine denso,
 Atque venusta cohors procerum nitet ordine longo.
 Et sedet in niveo pulcherrima virgo caballo;
 Acri fertur equo Karoli pia filia regis;
 In nemo ire parat, sacrata palatia linquens.
 Agminis extremam partem sibi vindicat Hiltrud,
 Illi sorte datur dehinc ultimus ordo senatus;
 Ipsa autem medio fulgescit in agmine virgo;
 Temperat expositum spatii moderamine gressum
 267. Litorei iuxta ore soli. . . .¹

III. IMAGE WORSHIP.

The definition of Image Worship passed by the Council of Nicaea (A. D. 787) is too long for reproduction in these pages. For the full text see Labbei *Concil.* tom. VIII., p. 1202 sqq. The concluding sentences setting forth the true sentiments of the Council are couched in these words:

" definimus in omni certitudine ac diligentia, sicut figuram preciosae ac vivificae crucis, ita venerabiles ac sanctas imagines proponendas, tam quae de coloribus et tessellis, quam quae ex alia materia congruenter in sanctis Dei ecclesiis, et sacris vasis, et vestibus, et in parietibus ac tabulis, domibus et viis: tam videlicet imaginem Dei et salvatoris nostri Jesu Christi, quam intemeratae dominae nostrae sanctae Dei genitricis, honorabiliumque angelorum, et omnium sanctorum simul et aliorum virorum. Quanto enim frequentius per imaginalem formationem videntur, tanto qui has contemplantur, alacrius eriguntur ad primitivorum earum memoriam et desiderium, ad osculum, et ad honorariam his adorationem tribuendam."

"Non tamen ad veram latriam, quae secundum fidem est, quaeque solam divinam naturam decet, impartiendam; ita ut istis, sicuti figurae preciosae ac vivificae crucis et sanctis evangelis, et reliquis sacris monumentis, incensorum et luminum oblatio ad harum honorem efficiendum exhibeatur, quemadmodum & antiquis pia consuetudinis erat. Imaginis enim honor ad primitivum transit: & qui adorat imaginem, adorat in ei depicti subsistentiam. Sic enim robur obtinet sanctorum patrum nostrorum doctrina, id est traditio sanctae catholicae ecclesiae, quae a finibus usque ad fines terrae suscepit evangelium. Sic Paulum, qui in Christo locutus est, & omnem divinum apostolicum coetum, & paternam sanctitatem exequimur, tenentes traditiones quas accepimus. Sic triumphales ecclesiae prophetice canimus hymnos: *Gaude satis filia Sion.* *aeternum* (Soph. III.).

"Eos ergo qui audent aliter sapere aut docere, aut secundum scelestos haereticos ecclesiasticas traditiones spernere, & novitatem quamlibet excogitare, vel projicere aliquid ex his quae sunt ecclesiae deputata, sive evangelium sive figur-

¹ A. 799. Angilberti Carmen, Dümmler, *l. c.* I., p. 371 sq.

am crucis, sive imaginalem picturam, sive sanctas reliquias martyris; aut excogitare prave aut astute ad subvertendum quidquam ex legitimis traditionibus ecclesiae catholicae; vel etiam quasi communibus uti sacris vasis, aut venerabilibus monasterii: si quidem episcopi aut clerici fuerint, deponi praecipimus; monachos autem vel laicos a communione segregari."

Then follow the subscriptions of so many hundred bishops, presbyters, etc., the majority of whom put the epithet unworthy (*ἀνάξιος*) after their Christian names; some adding that they held their office "by the mercy of God," and some describing themselves as "sinners" (*e. g.* Elias, a sinner, bishop of Crete); and when all this meek company of unworthy ones, sinners, and miracles of divine mercy had subscribed their names, even that Holy Synod with one accord burst forth in this acclaim:

"Omnes ita credimus, omnes idipsum sapimus, omnes consentientes subscripsimus. Haec est fides apostolorum, haec fides orthodoxorum, haec fides orbem terrarum firmavit. Credentes in unum Deum in Trinitate laudandum, honorabiles imagines osculamur. Qui sic se non habent, anathema sint: qui sic non sentiunt, procul ab ecclesia pellantur. Nos antiquam legislationem ecclesiae catholicae sequimur. Nos leges patrum custodimus. Nos eos qui addunt quid vel adimunt de ecclesia, anathematizamus. Nos subinductam novitatem Christianos accusantium anathematizamus. Nos venerandas imagines recipimus. Nos eo qui sic non se habent, anathematismis submittimus. His qui assumant dicta quae a divina scriptura contra idola proferuntur, in venerabiles imagines, anathema. His qui non salutant sanctas & venerabiles imagines, anathema. His qui vocant sacras imagines idola, anathema. His qui dicunt, quia ut ad deos Christiani ad imagines accesserunt, anathema. His qui dicunt, quia praeter Christum alius eruit nos ab idolis, anathema. His qui audent dicere, catholicam ecclesiam aliquando idola recepisse, anathema. Multos annos imperatorum Constantini & Irenae matris eius multos annos. Victorum imperatorum multos annos. Novo Constantino & novae Helenae aeterna memoria. Dominus custodiat imperium eorum. Coelestis rex terrenos custodi. Omnibus haereticis anathema. Frementi concilio contra venerabiles imagines, anathema. Ei qui recepit impias haereseos ratiunculas ipsorum, anathema. Theodosio falsi nominis episcopo Ephesino anathema. Sisimino cognomento Pastillae anathema. Basilio qui obscoena pronuntiatione Tricacabus appellatus est, anathema."

After anathematizing a number of ill-savory individuals, with whose shortcomings we are not particularly concerned, but whose teachings, the Holy Synod exclaims, were put down by the Sacred Trinity, specializing the case of John of Nicomedia, and Constantine of Nacolia, as that of heresiarchs, duly anathematizing them, and continuing:—"Ad nihilum deduxerunt imaginem domini et sanctorum eius: ad nihilum deduxit eos dominus."

"Si quis quemquam haereseos Christianos accusantis, vel in ea vitam suam transigentem defendit, anathema."

"Si quis Christum Deum circumscriptum secundum humanitatem non confitetur, anathema."

"Si quis evangelicas narrationes titulis picturisque factas non admittit, anathema."

"Si quis non osculatur has tanquam in nomine domini & sanctorum eius factas, anathema.

"Si quis omnem traditionem ecclesiasticam sive scriptam, sive non scriptam, irritam facit (ἀθετεῖ), anathema.

"Germani orthodoxi aeterna memoria.

"Joannis & Gregorii aeterna memoria.

"Praedicatorum veritatis aeterna memoria.

"Trinitas hos tres glorificat: quorum disputationes sequi mereamur, miserationibus & gratia primi & magni pontificis Christi Dei nostri, intercedente intemerata domina nostra sancta Dei genitrice, & omnibus sanctis eius. Fiat. Amen."

With which holy sentiments the Synod, having finished its cursing for that day, adjourned until the next.

APPENDIX K.

LITERARY NOTES ON SOME OF THE AUTHORITIES FOR THE HISTORY OF CHARLES THE GREAT.

The *Easter Tables*, circulated by Irish and British missionaries, were probably the modest beginnings of the Annals. These Tables had a limited vacant space, mostly on the right hand margin, in which the monks were wont to record meagre, and often uninteresting data concerning their monastery, but occasionally also political events. The oldest example known dates from the sixth century.¹ Sometimes the side margin did not suffice, and occasioned entries between the lines, or elsewhere on the page. The original MSS. extant are often difficult to decipher.

The historical value of the Annals depends upon their origin, and the proper sundering of corruptions or later additions from the original documents. The first attempt in this direction for the whole Carolingian period was made by Pertz.²

1. *Annales S. Amandi*, a. 687-810. MG. SS., I., 6-11. They run in two continuations from 771 to 791, and from 791 to 810. The earlier entries are not contemporary; e. g., the date of the battle of Testry, a. 687, is an addition of later date.

2. *Annales Tiliiani*, *ibid.* I., 6-8, so called after the owner of the MS., are related to No. 1, which they follow to a. 737; the remainder from a. 741-807 is taken from *Annal. Lauriss.*

3. *Annales Laubacenses*, *ibid.* I., 7-12, 15, 52, appear also to be taken from No. 1.

4. *Annales Mosellani* (so-called on account of their conjectured origin in monasteries on the Moselle), *ibid.* XVI., 491-499, from a. 703-797.

5. *Annales Petaviani*, *ibid.* I., 7-18; cf. III., 170, seem until a. 770 to be compiled from Nos. 1 and 4, but contain from that date to a. 799 independent, and probably official notices.

¹ MG. SS., III., Tab. I.

² See *Bericht* von Pertz, in *Archiv.*, VI., 253 sqq.

6. *Annales Murbacenses* denote a series of Annals to which they gave rise, or with which they are connected. Under this general designation may be enumerated:

a. *Annales Laureshamenses*; b. *Annales Alamannici*; c. *Annales Guelferbytani*; d. *Annales Nazariani*. Certain gaps excepted, they run parallel to a. 768; then, those named first are independent to a. 803, while the three others run in continuations to a. 790. After that date, *A. Guelf.* extend, but not continuously, to a. 826; *A. Alam.* were continued at Murbach to a. 800, and at Augia, but in very fragmentary form, to 859. The original of *A. Alam.* has been found at Zurich.

A. Alam., widely circulated in Suabia, found their way to Hersfeld, and are the basis of Lambert's historical work, while the Annals of Reichenau, derived from the same source, are the foundation of the Chronicle of Hermann the Lame.⁴

7. *Annales Lindisf.* (reprinted below), are connected with

8. *Annales S. Dionysii*,² and

9. *Annales S. Germani minores*, a. 642-919. MG. SS., III., 136.

10. *Annales S. Germani Paris.*, a. 466-1061. MG. SS., III., 166-168.

To the same group of Annals belong *A. Juvavenses major.*, a. 550-855, 976—very defective; *A. Juvav. minor.*, a. 742-814; *Annal. Salisb.* a. 499-1049, contemporary since 784; *A. S. Emmerammi majores*, 748-843, *minores*, 732-1062, MG. SS., I., 92; XIII., 47; and *Annal. Bawarici breves*, a. 684-811, MG. SS., XX., 8.

11. *Annal. Fuldenses antiqui*, MG. SS., III., 116.

It may interest those not familiar with these beginnings of annalistic literature to study out two examples sufficiently brief for reproduction in this volume.

ANNALES LINDISFARNENSES ET CANTUARIENSES, a. 618-690.³

Anno ab Incarnationi Domini

618 Filius rex Edilbert Cantiorum Irminrici obiit 6. Kal. Mart. feria 4.

643 Oswi regnare incipit.

651 Aidan episcopus obiit.

658 Finan moritur.

664 Colman obiit.

673 Ecbert Cantuariorum rex depositus 4 Non. Jul. fit

¹ Wattenbach, *l. c.*, 5 ed., I., 139; Pertz, *l. c.*, I., 19 sqq.

² MG. SS., XIII., 718-721.

³ This MS., as Pertz thinks, was brought by Alcuin to the Court of Charles, where he made the entries specifying the places at which he celebrated Easter. The monks of St. Germain then added their own Annals which have been traced to those of St.

Denis until 887, continued from 919-997.

Another copy, Arno, the friend of Alcuin, carried to Salzburg; it gives the Easter celebrations until 797, and then continues with Salzburg notices. This copy goes by the name of *Annal. Salisb.*

See Wattenbach, *l. c.*, 141.

- 680 Kap. sciī.
 685 Hlothari frater Ecberti Cantuariorum deponitur 7. Id. Feb.
 687 Edric Cantuariorum rex deponitur 2 Kal. Sept. feria 6.
 690 Theodorus episcopus deponitur 13 : Kal. Oct. feria 2.

ANNALES UT VIDETUR ALCUINI a. 782-797.

PARS PRIOR a. 782-787.

- 782 in Carisiaco.
 783 in Theudunvilla.
 784 (786) in Aristalle.
 785 (787) in Eresburgi.
 786 (788) Attinago.
 787 (790) Romae celebravit pascha dominus.

PARS ALTERA a. 788-797.

- 788 Dominus rex Carolus celebravit pascha in Inglimhaim.
 789 in Aquis.
 790 ad Wormatiam.
 791 Carolus in Pannonia.
 792 ad Ragenesburc.
 793 ad Franchonofurt.
 794 ad Aquis.
 795 ad Aquis.
 796 ad Aquis.
 797 ad Aquis.
 814 5 Kal. Febr. obiit Karolus [*magnus*] imperator. MAN. SAEC. IX. INEUNT.
 MG. SS., IV., 2.

ANNALES ANTIQUI FULDENSES.¹

- 742
 753 Bonifatii martyris passio.
 768 Pippinus rex obiit.
 774 Langobardorum . . . Desiderius . . . XV.
 776 Saxonum.
 779 Sturm abbas obiit.
 784
 789 depositio Tassilonis ducis.
 790
 791 in Avaros.
 792 in sinodo haeresis damnata, et Felix per Engilbertum Romam ductus est.
 800
 804 Leo papa adivit in Francia.
 814 Karolus imperator bonus obiit. MG. SS., I., 95.

¹ This is a very interesting document, and requires no comment. The italics denote that the letters and words have been supplied.

It would lead us too far to open the vexed and perhaps insoluble question of the origin of these earlier Annals or to take sides in the animated controversy. The brief notices here furnished are purely introductory, and only designed to aid those desirous of studying the matter, by directing them to works dealing with it at considerable length.

By far the most important historical helps for the reign of Charles, apart from Einhard's famous biography, and other works to be mentioned in subsequent paragraphs, are the *Annales Laurissenses majores*, and the so-called *Annales Einhardi*.

The former of these are also called *Annales plebei*, *Annales Loiseliani*, and Royal, Court or Imperial Annals. They were called *Annales Laurissenses majores*, after the monastery of Lorsch, where the oldest MS. was found, and where they were believed to have been drawn up.

This monastic origin, however, it was thought, seemed well nigh incredible, because their author could not in his cloistered retirement have procured the information essential to the record of so long and eventful a reign as that of Charles the Great.

The first and most able advocate of a new and very different theory of their origin was Leopold von Ranke. He subjected the Annals to a close and critical examination, and communicated the results to the Berlin Academy in 1854.¹

They met at the time with almost universal approbation, but have been much controverted since. Still the views he advanced, and the manner of his advocacy as well as the keen analysis of his close, compact reasoning, cannot be said to have been set aside by his opponents. I feel, that for the present purpose it may suffice, without entering into the controversy, to present his views in his own language.

Explaining that Ranke understands by the "Old Annalist" the author of *Annales Laurissenses majores*, he states the case as follows :

"We notice two striking characteristics in the Old Annalist : 1. He suppresses great calamities, either ignoring domestic commotions and occasional conspiracies, or recording them in an unsatisfactory manner ; 2. he is uncommonly well-informed on the events themselves.

"A monk could not possibly have found means to collect in his monastery such accurate information as is here described. We have the monastic annals of his country of the same period, but they cannot be named in the same breath with the others. They only record the most general features of the most startling occurrences. But here is an author who describes briefly, yet with the precision of positive knowledge, military expeditions, the character and conduct of the troops and separate feats of valor. He has also comparatively trustworthy information even on the subject of treaties. Only a person having near relations with the imperial Council could have been so well informed on the subject of the Beneventan and Bavarian enterprises.

"These two peculiarities, I mean, good information and great reticence, seem to indicate an official composition, while their characteristic diction dis-

¹ *Abhandlungen der Berliner Akademie aus dem Jahre 1854, S. 434.*

closes a clerical scribe. Every phrase suggests such an origin, and warrants the conclusion that an ecclesiastic, familiar with secular business, was charged with the duty of drawing up the Annals from information officially communicated to him by the Court.

"The crude, unpolished style, moreover, suits the period prior to the establishment of the Palace School, and marks the scribe as a man of the old cut and manner, who attained a higher degree of excellence simply because the events themselves he had to record necessarily entailed such improvement.

"But historiography soon passed into the more skilful literary hand of Einhard, who recast the Old Annals and drew up new ones, apparently in the Palace at Aix-la-Chapelle, and at the very time when the events he recorded took place.

"The credibility of the Older Annals is much enhanced by the circumstance, that Einhard left them substantially unchanged, and that his intercalations are confined to only a few of the more important events. It seems to have been his chief aim to conform their style to the progressive development of the Latin School, and his treatment of the subject to the dignity of his ideal of the new Empire. But the New Annals, that is, his own, constitute his true and personal merit.

"Einhard's Annals are invaluable where they are independent, and our most important historical monument for the last few years of the eighth century, and the first decades of the ninth."

Without discussing the origin of the Annals, Ranke confines himself to the comparison of the two texts, and simply inquires:

1. "Are Einhard's Annals in perfect agreement with the older work?"
2. "If they differ, what is the nature of their difference?"
3. "Which is entitled to preference?"

He then examines a number of passages, selecting the famous reply of Zacharias to Pepin's question (a. 749); the disagreement of Charles and Carloman on the march to Aquitaine (a. 769); the Lombard campaign (a. 773); the first Saxon expedition (a. 772), etc.; matters connected with the affairs of Benevento and Bavaria, etc., concluding the investigation with these reflections:

1. Einhard's Annals while superior to the older "in ease, style, and arrangement, are more superficial, inaccurate, and less characteristic."
2. "The older Annals are preferable to Einhard's for all purposes of historical inquiry, although those of Einhard have cast them in the shade, and met with all but universal acceptance."

He adds that the "Poeta Saxo" led the way in the ninth century in discarding the older Annals and echoing Einhard, thus inducing many errors which continue to this day.

"But is Einhard to be set absolutely aside for the whole of the period in question? Does he advance nothing that makes his testimony peculiarly valuable?"

"The years of which he treats contain two very remarkable additions—both relating to calamities—viz.: the battle at the Süntel, and the defeat in the Pyrenees.

"Einhard has the moral courage to admit undoubted defeats, which the Older Annalist does not seem to possess.

"The disastrous events at the Süntel a. 782 are so vague and ambiguous on the page of the Old Annalist, that his notices suggest only a victory dearly bought with the blood of great men. Einhard, on the other hand, is quite explicit both on the details of the battle and the Frankish loss.

"The description of the Spanish expedition in 778 with its tragical termination is not without merit, as told by the Older Annalist. He indicates with greater precision than later writers, that the army advanced in two divisions, one of which, commanded by Charles himself, took the route of Navarre, and probably consisted in the main of Neustrians, for the other composed of Septimanians, Burgundians, Austrasians, Bavarians and Lombards effected a junction with him at Saragossa.

"It is highly probable that the nationalities moved in the same order on the Spanish retreat, for we know that such was the policy followed on the Avar expedition.

"If this was done, then the calamitous surprise on the retreat through the Pyrenees was meted out to the Neustrians, or North French Division.

"The Old Annalist suppresses the whole of the disaster, which would be unknown to history had Einhard not recorded it."

One of Ranke's examples follows in illustration of his method.

"I begin with the enterprise of Charles against the Lombards in 773. Without dwelling on minor variations I find that the two annalists differ in their conception of the events themselves.

"Einhard's Charles upon receipt of the papal message at Thionville considers the difference pending between the Romans and the Lombards, and resolves to go to war."

"He is introduced as the world's judge and an autocrat (*rebus, quae inter Romanos ac Langobardos gerebantur, diligenti cura pertractatis bellum sibi—suscipiendum ratus*).

"The Plebeian Annals, on the other hand, state the case more originally, simply, and in a less grandiose style. The papal nuncio requests Charles to interpose (*pro dei servitio et justitia Sti. Petri seu solatio ecclesiae*).

"They represent the pope not only oppressed by the temporary insolence of the enemy, as Einhard does, but explain that the old disputes between the Chair of St. Peter and the Lombards, which took Pepin to Italy, burst forth anew, and the interests of St. Peter must be defended; whereas Einhard treats the case as a judicial sentence, executed forthwith.

"Again Einhard represents the king as reflecting, and resolving upon the course by himself; the Old Annals state that he consults the Franks, and follows their advice (*rex consiliavit una cum Francis, quid perageret, et sumpto consilio, ut sicut missus apostolici postulavit, ita fieret*); the Council accedes to the pope's request. Then the assembled *heerbann*, i. e., the nation under arms, which was also a Synod (*sinodum rex tenuit generaliter cum Francis*), approved and ratified the action of the Council according to usage.

"Einhard's account of the progress of the expedition also is vague; he says: *superato Alpium jugo Desiderium citra congressionem fugavit*, which suggests so little that Baronius lauds the invasion as a miracle.

"The *Chronicon Moissiacense*, forsooth, makes the king send a legion of his

ablest warriors across the mountains, who put Desiderius to flight, and I have read in a history, published 1841, that the *clausae* were carried by storm. But that chronicle also gives no clear statement, and being only a compilation, is not entitled to independent credit. If its statement were true, how could Einhard have dared to assert that there was no engagement at all?

"The Old Annals explain the case in the significant but clumsy clause: *mittens* [Carolus] *scaram suam per montana, hoc sentiens Desiderius, clusas relinquit*. This shows that the king's peculiar troops, his own *scara*, found a passage across the mountains, like the French, who turned Fort Bard, on the occasion of Napoleon's passage of Mount St. Bernard, by following a shepherd's path. Desiderius anticipated their arrival and fled. The annalist, nevertheless, shared the belief that the easy opening of the *clausae* was due to the special protection of St. Peter.

"The account of the end of the expedition, like that of its commencement, is much clearer in the Old Annals than in Einhard who simply states that Pavia, exhausted with the long siege, was forced to capitulate and that all the other cities followed its example, and made their submission to the king of the Franks.

"The Plebeian Annals, on the other hand, relate that Charles took the city, secured the persons of Desiderius, his wife, and daughter, together with the treasure in his palace; that thus the royal castle and treasure fell into his hands, and that then all the Lombards from all the cities of Italy submitted to the lordship of the glorious king Charles, and of the Franks.

"The description of Einhard might suit any place, but the other Annals, which I believe record the truth, represent the Lombards upon their arrival recognizing the conqueror of Desiderius, in possession of the royal treasure, as their new king. Charles became King of the Lombards.

"This entailing, of course, Frankish supremacy, the royal castle thenceforth was garrisoned by Frankish troops. Only the Old Chronicler brings out this point with necessary clearness: *custodia Francorum in Papia civitate dimittens*.

"Einhard hastily throws out: *pro tempore ordinata Italia*, although the policy was uniformly adhered to. After the suppression of the Friulian revolt, the conquered cities of the province received Frankish garrisons (*disposuit eas omnes per Francos*); it was the natural course for the maintenance of order in the East and West, and the Frankish colonists on the former frontier defended the country from the incursions of the Avars. Here again Einhard has only the general statement that the Avars, he calls them Huns, made a simultaneous attack on Bavaria and the Marche of Friuli, and *in utroque loco victi fugatique sunt*.

"It is probable that the first of these notices gave rise to the legend told by the peasants about Treviso that the old Roman military road along the Lagunes was guarded by Roland, who amused himself with playing a kind of billiards with milestones."

Thus far Ranke, who expressed the views stated more than thirty years ago. Since that time the most able, sagacious, and keen criticism has busied itself

with the whole question from every conceivable point of view, without materially shaking them. They have been, and still are the subject of animated controversy, but as it would lead me too far to open and discuss it here, I beg to refer to Wattenbach, *Deutschland's Geschichtsquellen im Mittelalter*, 5 ed., I., 180, sqq., for a statement of the controversy, and to the subjoined literature on the whole subject.

MG. SS. I., 124-218; separate reprint, 1845.

Cod. Steinveld. (g), British Museum, Add. 21,109.

Frese, *De Einhardi Vita et Scriptis Specimen*. Diss. Berol. 1845 (denying Einhard's authorship).

Abel, *Einhard's Jahrbücher*, Berl. 1850.

L. Ranke, *Zur Kritik fränkisch-deutscher Reichsannalisten*, in *Abhandlungen der Berliner Akademie aus dem Jahre*, 1854, pp. 415-435.

G. Waitz, *Zu den Lorscher und Einhard's Annalen*, in *Götting. Nachrichten*, 1857, pp. 46-52.

B. Simson, *De statu quaestionis: sintne Einhardi necne sint quos ei ascribunt, Annales imperii*, Diss. Regiom. 1860.

W. Giesebrecht, *Die Fränkischen Königsannalen und ihr Ursprung*, in *Münch. Histor. Jahrbuch*, 1864, pp. 186-238.

G. Monod, *Revue Crit.* 1873, no. 42.

Fr. Ebrard, *Reichsannalen 741-829 u. ihre Umarbeitung*, in *Forschungen XIII.*, 425-472.

E. Dünzelmann, Beiträge zur Kritik der Karol. Annalen in *N. A. II.*, 475-537.

H. v. Sybel, *Historische Zeitschrift*, XLII., 260-288; *Entgegnung* Simson's, *Forsch.* XX., 205-214; *Replik* von Sybel, *H. Z.* XLIII., 410; *Duplik* v. Simson, *Karl der Grosse*, p. 604-611.

Harnak, *Das Karol. u. das byz. Reich*, 1880, Excurs.

Manitius, *Die Annal. Sithienses, Lauriss. min., u. Enharti Fuld.*—Dissert. Lips. 1881.

"*Einhard's Werke u. ihr Stil*, *N. A. VII.*, 517-568.

Is. Bernays, *Zur Kritik Karol. Annalen*, Strassb. 1883.

Dorr, *N. A. X.*

To these add:

Simson, *Bemerkungen über Sprachgebrauch und Stil der Annales Laurissenses maiores*; Exc. III. in *Jahrb. des Fränk. Reichs unter K. d. G.*, I., 659, ed. 1888.

"*In der Controverse über die Annales Sithienses*, *ibid.* Exc. IV.

"*Zur Frage nach dem Ursprung der fränkischen Reichsannalen*, *ibid.* II., 604, ed. 1883.

The notes to the last three papers contain very full literary references.

It may be accepted as certain that, whatever was the origin of the *Annal. Lauriss. major.*, they were drawn up by a succession of scribes; and that the author of the Annals known as Einhard's¹ was an incomparably abler man than that of the former.

¹ See p. 535.

Still avoiding the controversy, I now present in full the record of a. 792 in both Annals.

ANNALES LAURISSENSIS MAJORES.

792.

Haeresis Feliciani primo ibi condemnata est, quem Anghilbertus, ad praesentiam Adriani apostolici adduxit, et confessione facta suam haeresim iterum abdicavit. Conjuratio contra regem a filio ejus Pippino facta, detecta et compressa est. Eodem anno nulum iter exercitale factum est. Pons super navigia flumina transeuntia factus est, anchoris et funibus ita cohaerens, ut jungi et dissolvi possit. Et celebravit dominus rex natalem Domini ibi, similiter pascha celebratum est.

EINHARDI ANNALES.

792.

Orgellis est civitas in Pyrinei montes jugo sita, cujus episcopus nomine Felix, natione Hispanus, ab Elipando, Toleti episcopo, per litteras consultus, quid de humanitate salvatoris dei et domini nostri Jesu Christi sentire deberet, utrum secundum id quod homo est, proprius an adoptivus Dei filius credendus esset ac dicendus, valde incaute atque inconsiderate, et contra antiquam catholicae ecclesiae doctrinam, adoptivum non solum pronuntiavit, sed etiam scriptis ad memoratum episcopum libris, quanta potuit pertinacia pravitate intentionis suae defendere curavit. Hujus rei causa ductus ad palatium regis—nam is tunc apud Reginum, Baioariae civitatem, in qua hiemaverat residebat, ubi congregato episcoporum consilio auditus est, et errasse convictus, ad praesentiam Hadriani pontificis Romam missus, ibi etiam coram ipso in basilica beati Petri

apostoli haeresem suam damnavit atque abdicavit. Quo facto, ad civitatem suam reversus est. Rege vero ibidem aestatem agente, facta est contra illum conjuratio a filio suo majore, nomine Pippino, et quibusdam Francis, qui se crudelitatem Fastradae reginae ferre non posse adseverabant, atque ideo in necem regis conspiraverant. Quae cum per Fardulfum Langobardorum detecta fuisset, ipse ob meritum fidei servatae monasterio sancti Dionisii donatus est, auctores vero conjurationis ut rei majestatis partim gladio caesi, partim patibulis suspensi, ob meditatum scelus tali morte multati sunt. Rex autem propter bellum cum Hunis susceptum in Baioaria sedens, pontem navalem, quo in Danubio ad id bellum uteretur, aedificavit, ibique natalem Domini et sanctum pascha celebravit.

Text of Pertz, MG. SS., I.

It is not very hazardous to affirm that the first part of the *Annales Lauriss. major.* was not composed till after 788 and extends to the end of a. 794. The record of the years 787 and 788 dealing with the events in Benevento and Bavaria is uncommonly well done, and, in the opinion of some, discloses or suggests the authorship of Arno, archbishop of Salzburg.

This portion of the Annals breathes the vivacity of intelligent, contemporary observation by a man thoroughly familiar with all the ramifications of the political agencies at work. The style, however, and the language are crude

and barbarous, but not worse than found in the contemporary documents indited at Rome.¹

A decided change in both respects runs through the subsequent portions of these Annals, and their striking resemblance with the biography of Einhard, together with the express but not unchallenged testimony of Odilo (MG. SS., XV., 379 sq.), that Einhard wrote them—renders it probable that he took part in their redaction. At any rate, we may not doubt that the writer, who continued the Annals to a. 829, must have stood in official relations to the Court, and recorded contemporary events.

The Annals, ascribed to Einhard, and cited as his, are substantially a revision of the *Annal. Lauriss.* to a. 801; and, after that date, almost identical with them. Their coincidences with the Einhardian biography are striking and indicate a mutual dependence, although it is difficult to solve the question if the *Vita*, as is generally held, be the outcome of the Annals, or, for the period in question, the Annals are the outcome of the *Vita*.

The *Annales Laurisenses majores* underwent other independent redactions, e. g., one extending to 805, of which fragments have been preserved, has furnished the *Annales Mettenses* with peculiar notices.²

Annal. Xantenses (797–811) and *Annal. Maximin.* (beginning with a. 790) seem to be based on *Annal. Lauriss. maj.*

By far the greater number of the Annals are of Germanic origin.

The metrical version of the Annals by *Poeta Saxo*, composed towards the close of the ninth century, is a work of little value to the historian; it closely follows the *Annales Einhardi*, and adds only special notices respecting the Saxons.³

Resuming the brief notes on some of the authorities, there remain to be considered:

Annales Laurisenses minores, MG. SS., I., 121–133 cf. III., 18.

They are a poor compend, drawn up from an older compilation (Wattenbach, *l. c.*, I., 191), with supplementary, and possibly, independent notices. They run from a. 806 to a. 817 in two separate continuations, that of Fulda being strongly tinged with local references. The Vatican MS. Pal. 243 (Arch. XII., 332) has not yet been used.

Chronica de sex aetatibus mundi, MG. SS., II., 256, a fragment, author unknown, extending to a. 810, possesses no independent merit.

Annales Maximiani, MG. SS., XIII., 19–25, extending from a. 741–811.

See Wattenbach, *l. c.*, I., 138 sq.; *Compte-rendu*, etc., VIII. (1844), 307–322; *Götting. Nachr.* 1871; NA. V., 475–501.

Annales Flaviniacenses, containing the *Annal. Mosell.* to a. 785, are a chronological compilation from a. 816 to 879. Cf. Waitz, NA. V., 484.

Chronicon Moissiacense, MS. only to Honorius; printed MG. SS., I., 280–313; cf. II., 257, giving emendations from a. 804–813 after a new MS.

¹ Jaffé, commenting on the Latin of the papal Epistles, calls it “scribendi genus, quod ab omnibus fere grammaticorum praeceptis abhorret.”—Bibl. Rer. Germ. IV., 6.

² See Abel-Simson, *l. c.*, I., 5.

³ Idem, *l. c.*, I., 6 and note 2.

This Chronicle drawn up from the *Chronicon universale* ad a. 741, MG. SS., XIII., 1-19, the compilation ending a. 805 or 806 (Wattenbach, *l. c.*, I., 193, and note 5, 5 ed., and printed *ibid.* p. 540, 2 ed.), the *Annal. Lauriss.* and other authorities, extends to a. 818. It is believed to contain valuable and otherwise unknown notices of Aquitanian origin. The compiler is so conscientious a copyist, that the continuation, or last part of the Chronicle from a. 813-818, is believed to be also the production of another but unknown author.

The *Chron. Moiss.* which appears to have been produced in the South of France, exists in two entirely different redactions, one made at Moissac (in which the period a. 716-777 is omitted), and another at Aniane. The latter contains very arbitrary and astonishing additions, such as the substitution of Spanish names for Saxon ones under a. 779, 780. (Wattenbach, *l. c.*, I., 194; Monod, *Revue critique*, 1873, II., 262.)

Alcuini Opera, ed. Frobenius (Froben Forster, prince-abbot of St. Emmeram) 4 vols. fo. Ratisb. 1777.—Reprinted in Migne C. CL.

Monumenta Alcuiniana, being Vol. VI. of Jaffé, *Bibliotheca Rerum Germanicarum*, contains the best edition of the epistles and historical writings, edited after the preliminary labors of Jaffé, by Dümmler and Wattenbach. The poetical works of Alcuin are edited by Dümmler in *Poet. Lat. etc.*, I., 160-351. The epistles of Alcuin are extremely valuable for the second half of the reign of Charles.

On the other hand the epistles in the *Codex Carolinus* (Monumenta Carolina, Jaffé, *Bibl. Rer. German.* IV.) are a rich storehouse of authentic information, especially for the first half of the same reign. It contains only the epistles of the popes, none of Charles; but the merit of the collection belongs to Charles himself, who commanded it to be made in 791.

Einhard's *Vita Caroli* is only of secondary importance as an authority, although, viewed as a purely literary production, it marks an era in the history of literature, being justly regarded as the best biography written since the classical period.

Ranke (*l. c.*) says concerning it:

"Among modern works none is probably more strongly marked by imitation of classical models than Einhard's biography of Charles the Great. He copies Suetonius in expression and phrase, the arrangement of the subject and the very sequence of the chapters. It is truly startling that an author undertaking the portraiture of one of the grandest and rarest characters in the realm of history, hunts for words previously applied to some of the emperors.

"He delights to set forth the most striking characteristics of his hero in the phrase of Suetonius as found in the biographies of Augustus, Vespasian, Titus, and even of Tiberius. He arranged the dimensions of his biography, like his architectural works, after antique models, and imbedded antique remains in both. We may believe that he did not violate truth, but he could not with such a method bring out the whole originality of his subject. History demands more than beautiful diction; it insists first and foremost upon strict truthfulness, which is incompatible with artificiality, and must suffer from constant reference to a model.

"Einhard doubtless intended to furnish a pleasing and comprehensive account rather than one strictly accurate, and, as a matter of fact, his small volume teems with historical blunders.

"The regnal years are not infrequently given wrongly, *e. g.* Carloman is said to have reigned only two years, whereas his reign contemporary with that of Charles the Great exceeded three; in the division of the Empire between the two brothers, the biographer narrates the opposite of what actually took place; he represents indecisive battles, *e. g.*, the engagement on the Berre, as decisive; he confounds the names of the popes, and even blunders in mentioning the wives and children of Charles the Great; indeed his errors are so numerous that the established genuineness of the work has often been questioned."

Thus far Ranke. We may add, that without impugning the honesty of Einhard, the biography is too general, too rhetorical, too much arranged for general effect to be of value to the historian. It is a general sketch of the emperor rather than of the man Charles, and such may have been all that Einhard proposed to do.¹ He admits that "no man can write with more accuracy than I of events that took place about me, and of facts concerning which I had personal knowledge, ocular demonstration, as the saying goes;" yet in these very points he often maintains a tantalizing silence, and it is impossible to exonerate him from the charge of intentional mystification. It is unnecessary to enlarge upon this theme here, having been frequently noticed in previous portions of this volume.

The general picture of the Einhardian Charles is doubtless accurate and life-like, but we need the light of the Annals, Epistles, Laws, Poems, and other contemporary records, in order to see and understand it aright.

In German literature, moreover, this biography is a landmark as the first biography commemorating a secular character, for until then the only lives written were those of ecclesiastics, especially of saints.

Among these some are of great value and importance for the history of Charles the Great; especially:

Eigil. *Vita S. Sturmii*, MG. SS. II.

Altfridii Vita Liudgerii, ed. Diekamp, *Geschichtsquellen des Bisthums Münster*, IV.

Vita S. Willehadi, MG. SS. II.

Hucbaldi Vita Lebuini, MG. SS. II.

The epistles of Einhard (Jaffé, *Bibl.* IV.) are valuable only for the history of Louis the Pious; his *Translatio SS. Marcellini et Petri* (ed. Henschen, *Acta SS.* Jun. I., 181-206; ed. Waitz, MG. SS. XV.) sheds light on the morality, and habits of life of the period, such as modes of travel, and contains valuable topographical notices.

Thegani Vita Hludowici imperatoris, MG. SS. II., 585 sqq., the Vita Hludowici imperatoris, ascribed to Astronomus, *ibid.* II., 604 sqq.; and Ermoldi

¹ Preface to the *Vita*.

Nigelli Carmina, *ibid.* II., 464 sqq., though belonging to the next reign, contain important details for the history of Charles.

Of considerable importance and value also are the lives of the several contemporary popes:

Vita Stephani III., apud Duchesne, Lib. pontif. I.

Vita Hadriani I., apud Muratori, Rer. Ital. SS. III.

Vita Leonis III., *ibid.*

The *Vitae Pontificum Romanorum sive Liber Pontificalis*, generally ascribed to Anastasius, the Librarian, exists in many editions, of which that of Vignolle, Romae 1724-53 in 3 vols. 40, enjoys the reputation of being the best. On the different texts see: Duchesne, *Étude sur le Liber pontificalis*, Paris, 1877; and the reply of Waitz in NA. IV., 215 sqq., entitled: *Ueber die verschiedenen Texte des Liber pontificalis*.

The *Liber pont.* contains biographical sketches of the popes from St. Peter to Nicolaus I., but they are manifestly not the work of Anastasius, who seems to have contributed only the concluding portion. The earlier lives were written by different authors, and at different times; they are of unequal merit, and the book should be used with the utmost caution.

Pauli Diaconi Gesta epp. Mett. MG. SS. II., 260 sqq., his *Historia Langobardorum*, Waitz, SS. rer. Langob., must not be omitted; the latter extends only to the death of Liutprand, a. 744, and consequently contains hardly anything of use for the history of Charles, but the former, as founded partly on old and lost documents, partly on local tradition, are of permanent value.

Erchempert. *Historia Langobardorum Benevent.* SS. rerum Langobard., a work written towards the close of the ninth century, and the *Chronicon Salernitanum*, MG. SS., III., contain valuable information, but require to be used with caution.

The same observation applies to Agnelli *Liber pontificalis* eccl. Ravenn. SS. rer. Langobard., the *Chronicon Cassinense*, MG. SS. III., to Theophanis *Chronographia*, ed. de Boor, to Andr. Dandul. *Chronicon*, Muratori, Rer. It. SS. XII., Andr. Bergom. *Hist.*, SS. rer. Langob., and a number of other works, occasionally cited in this volume.

The work of the Monk of St. Gall (*Monachus Sangallensis*, MG. SS. II., 726 sqq.; Jaffé, Bibl. IV., 619 sqq.) though rather a repertory of historical and legendary anecdotes than history, supplies valuable notices, but all his statements need verification and must be received with great caution. Some conjecture him to be identical with Notker, the Stammerer.

His book gives an excellent idea of the popular conception of the great emperor about seventy years after his death, the date of its composition (a. 883), and records many a characteristic trait which otherwise would not be known.

Poetic authorities, mentioned and cited in different portions of this volume

need not be recapitulated; they are collected in the meritorious volumes of Dümmler, *Poetae Latini Aevi Carolini*, 2 vols. 40, in *Monumenta Germ. Historiae*.

The vast and most important Collection of Laws, under the splendid editorship of Boretius, in his *Capitularia Regum Francorum*; and *Capitularen im Langobardenreich*, is a rich treasury especially for the second half of the reign of Charles the Great; unfortunately it is not indexed. A full list of the Capitularies is given in Appendix G.

Numerous public and private documents, mostly diplomas, pertaining to the several portions of the Frankish empire, are in many respects decisive authorities, and very important.

They are given in chronological order and with clear analysis, by Böhmer-Mühlbacher in *Regesten des Kaiserreichs unter den Karolingern*. Compare Sickel, *Regesten der Urkunden der ersten Karolinger*; *Urkundenlehre*; Fickel, *Beiträge zur Urkundenlehre*; Jaffé, *Regest. Pontif.*, 2 ed.

Among the earliest traditions respecting Charles the Great may be named: *Visio domni Caroli*, assigned to the middle of the ninth century, Jaffé, Bibl. IV., 701. See p. 492 sqq.

Expeditio Hispanica, MG. SS. III., 708.

Legends in the *Chronicon Novaliciense*, MG. SS. VII.

The story of a duel between Charles and Wittekind, MG. SS. X., 576.

Vita S. Arnoldi, in *Acta SS.* Jul. IV., 449 sqq.

On the poetic history of Charles, see G. Paris, *Histoire poétique de Charlemagne*, Paris, 1865, and the subjoined Chronological Table of the Poetical History of Charlemagne.

(From the French of L. Gautier.)

I. THE most ancient group is represented in the *Song of Roland*, founded not only on legends dating from the IXth and even the VIIIth centuries, but on historical texts of considerable importance. [Einh. *Vita Caroli*, 9; Annales, and Poëta Saxo ad a. 778; Vita Hludowici, MG. SS. II., 608.]

II. Simultaneously with the legend of Roncevaux, but independently in another cycle, arose that of Ogger (Ogier), which has also a historical basis. [Epistle of Pope Paul to Pepin a. 760, Bouquet V., 122; *Chronicon Moissiac.* from 752-814, *ib.* pp. 69, 70; *Monach. Sangall.* II., 26; Anastasius, a. 753, 772, 774; *Annal. Lobiens.* MG. SS. II., 195; *Chronicon Sancti Martini Coloniens.* a. 778, *ibid.* II., 214; *Chronicon Sigebert.*, XIth cent.; Bouquet, V., 376; *Conversio Othgerii militis*, of the Xth or XIth cent.; the tomb of Ogger at S. Faro, *Acta SS. Ord. S. Bened.*, saec. IV., pars I., pp. 664, 5.] Related to this group are: *Chevalerie Ogier de Danemarche* by Raimbert; *Enfances Ogier*, of Adenès; the third branch of the *Karlsmagnus Saga* and the fourth of the *Charlemagne* of Venice.

III. Towards the close of the Xth century a falsification of the text of Eginhard gave rise to the legend of the voyage to Jerusalem [*Benedicti Chroni-*

con, MG. SS. III., pp. 710 sq.] from which sprung the first part of the *Voyage to Jerusalem and Constantinople*, and from this two narratives of the *Karlsmagnus Saga*.

IV. In the middle of the XIth century a monk of Compostella wrote the first five chapters of the pretended *Chronique de Turpin*, with the history of an entire crusade of Charles in Spain. This narrative has not had any influence on the development of French Romance.

V. Prior to the redaction of the Song of Roland (*Chanson de Roland*) numerous legends, and most probably certain poems treating of other episodes in the lives of Charles or Roland, were already in circulation. The original text of Roland contains very plain allusions to the capture of Nobles, as told in the first branch of the *Karlsmagnus Saga*; to the embassy of Basin and Basile, retold much later by the author of the capture of Pampeluna (*Prise de Pampelune*); and to the family of Olivier as presented in *Girars de Viane*. Of course these poems older than the Song of Roland were not identical with those which we possess now, but analogous songs in assonance, and decasyllabic, etc.

VI. The traditions and legends thus far enumerated are based on certainty; but those which follow, and not mentioned in the *Chanson de Roland*, rest only on probability. The facts detailed at length in the versions of *Renans de Montauban* which have come down to us, those given in connection with the Spanish war in the *Kaiserschronik* of the XIIth century, in parts I. and V. of the *Karlsmagnus Saga*, in the second third of the *Entrée en Espagne*, in the *Prise de Pampelune*, and the last part of *Girars de Viane*, must have circulated in France, for an indefinite length of time, before the XIIth century.

VII. The Song of Roland has passed through different hands and undergone repeated rejuvenation; and it grew under the process. Some of the new episodes added to it, such as the capture of Narbonne, are based on tradition, while others, such as the two flights of Ganelon, his fight with Othe, the interview of Aude and Gilain, etc., are purely imaginary.

VIII. Chapter VI., etc., of the Chronicle of Turpin may be assigned to the interval between 1109 and 1119, when the Romance sources from which it sprang were corrupted, distorted, and clericalized. This apocryphal work has considerably influenced the Romance Literature of the French.

IX. Quite a series of poems, half legendary, half fictitious, originated from rather vague traditions of the XIIth century and later. The taking of Rome by the Saracens gave rise to the old poem of *Balant* revived by M. G. Paris, to *Fierabras*, and even to *Aspremont* in which other traditions may be found.

X. Several universal stories, met with in every land (e. g. the traitor, the avenger, the innocent wife restored to honor, etc.) induced the composition of the *Enfance de Charles* from the close of the XIIth to the commencement of the XIIIth centuries. That legend reappears in *Enfances Charlemagnes* of Venice (at the end of the XIIth century); *Chronique Saintongeaise* (beginning of the XIIIth century); *Meinet* in French verse, fragments of which (XIIth century) have recently been discovered in *Berte aux grans piés* (about 1275); the *Stricker* of 1230; the *Chronicle of Weihenstephan* (originated in the XIVth century, MS. of the XVth cent.); Wolter's *Chronica Bremensis*

(XVth c.); the *Karlsmagnus Saga* (second third of the XIIIth cent.); Girart d'Amiens, *Charlemagne* (beginning of the XIVth c.); *Karl Meinet* (beginning of the XIVth cent.); and in *Reali* (about 1350), etc.

XI. However, with a view to contesting the pretensions of French legends, there were invented in Spain certain legends designed to ruin the glory of Roland. Such is the drift of the *Cronica Hispaniae* by Rodrick of Toledo (+ 1247), of the *Cronica General* of Alphonso X. (2d half of the XIIIth cent.) and several other Romants.

XII. Lastly, the works which follow are purely literary and imaginary: viz., *Jean de Lanson*; *Simon de Pouille*; *Otinél*; the last part of the Entrance of Spain (*Roland en Orient*); *Gui de Bourgogne*; *Gaidon*; *Anseïs de Carthage*; *Galien*; the last part of *Voyage to Jerusalem*, and some parts of *Girars de Viane*.

Thus all our Songs of Feats (*gestes*) range from those with some historical basis to such as not only cease to be legendary, but are only novels in the modern acceptation of the word.

For a much fuller account, and an analysis of not less than thirty such chansons by M. Gautier, see his *Épopées Françaises*, t. II.

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Latin, and occasionally modern foreign proper names, foreign words, and most of the titles of works, are printed in italics.

Abbreviations, M., monastery; P., palace; R., river; St., saint.

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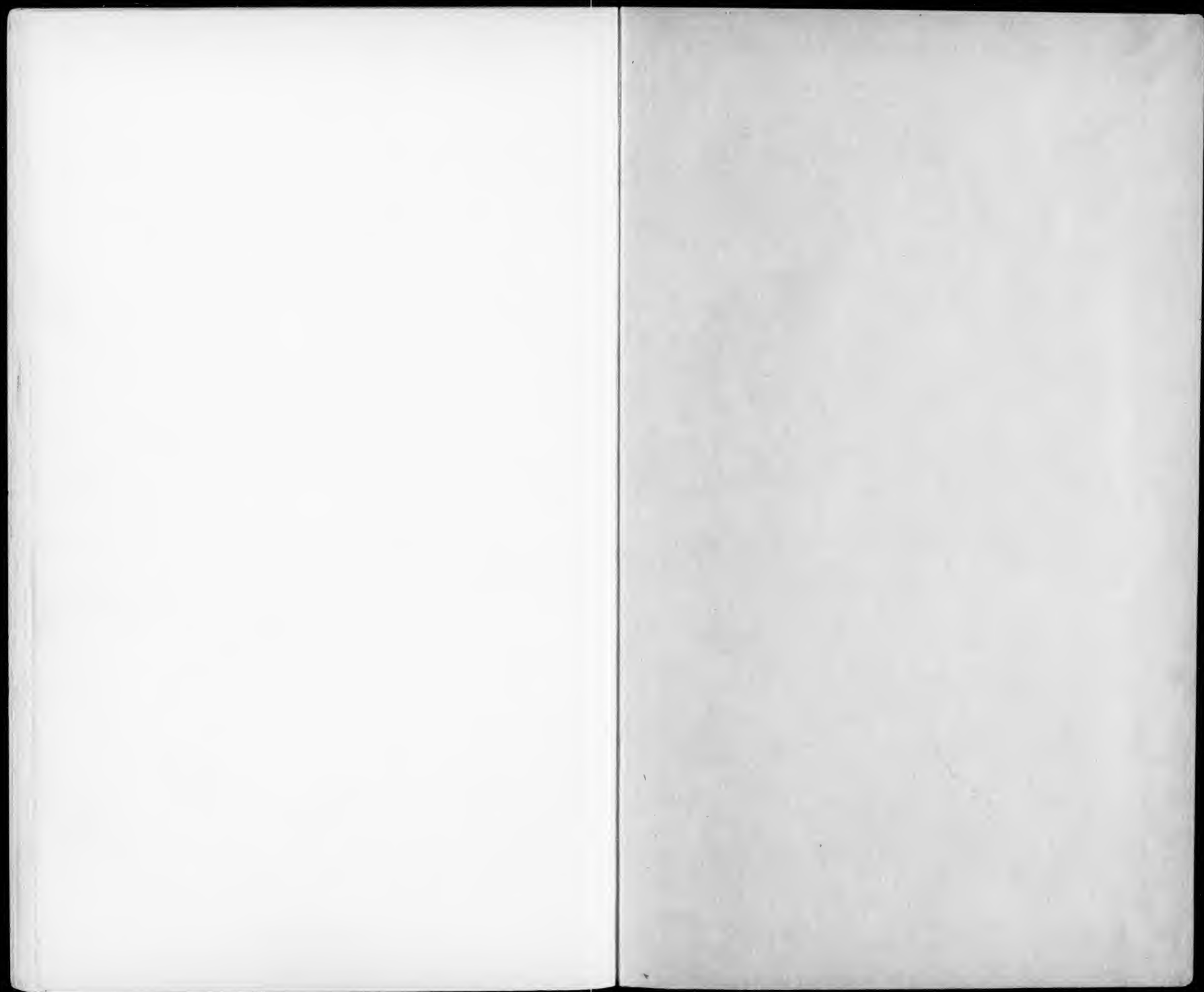
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